I.—ON THE ELEGIES OF MAXIMIANUS.

II.

Besides the new MSS exhibited by Bährens in his recently published recension (Poet. Lat. Minor. V, pp. 316–348) I have collated for the following paper two Bodleian, two British Museum codices of Maximianus. The two[1] former I shall refer to as Bodl.[1] and [2]; the two[2] latter as Brit.[1] and [2]. E is the Eton MS.

I 27, 8.

> Nunc agili cursu cunctos anteire solebam,
> Nunc traici cantus exuperare melos.

So E, following which Bährens rightly restores *tragici* rather than *tragico* or *tragicos* of the other MSS. I cannot, however, agree with him in rejecting a word so thoroughly characteristic of Maximianus' period as *melo* which Brit.[2] and two of Bährens' MSS give, in favor of *meis* or *meo*. The poet obviously means that he could sing better than the tragic singers in the theatre. *Melo* is used by Venantius Fortunatus more than once, *e. g.* III 9, 27, *Fitque repercusso dulcior aura melo*. I would write then

> Nunc tragici cantus exuperare melo.

I 41, 2.

> At si me subito uinosus repperit hospes
> Aut fecit laetus sumere multa dies.

If *multa* is wrong, as it seems to be (for the poet goes on to speak of his successes as a deep drinker), I think it possible that *mulsa*, rather than *uina*, is the original word. Quintilian I 5, 16 mentions

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[1] Bodl. 38, Auct. 5, 6. [2] Add. 21, 213, Reg. 15, A. 7.

hordea and *mulsa* as examples of one kind of barbarism; but if Virgil could use *hordea*, Maximianus might use *mulsa*.

I 45-48.

> Haud facile est animum tantis inflectere rebus
>   Ut res oppositas mens ferat una duas.
> Hoc quoque uirtutum quondam certamine magnum
>   Socratem palmam promeruisse ferunt.
> Hinc etiam rigidum memorant ualuisse Catonem
>   Non res in uitium, sed male facta cadunt.

The meaning seems to be as follows: Maxim. has just been vaunting his drinking powers. 'It is no easy task,' he proceeds, 'to sway the soul by so many (*tantis = tot*) influences as to make a single mind capable of supporting two opposites (hard drinking and abstemiousness). Socrates, it is said, could be victorious in *this* contest of excellence as in others; Cato himself *incaluit uino;* it is not the thing itself but doing it improperly that is reprehensible.' But it is as inconceivable to me as it was to the clever emender and critic John Hildebrand Withof (Encaenia Critica, p. 299), that so careful a metrist as Maximianus should have written *Socrātem*. This indeed is the reading of E as well as most MSS. Yet there are not wanting signs of something wrong. Thus Bodl.² has *certamine magno Socraticam*, Brit.¹ *cert. magnum Victricem p.*, Brit.² *c. magnum Ut Socratem*, while the old German edition collated by Wernsdorf has *longum* for *magnum*. Withof substituted *Doctorem* for *Socratem*. It is far more probable that the *o* of the name has been shortened, in which case we might read *Te Sŏcratē*, for which the poetry of the time supplies a great number of parallels; names always exhibiting the readiest corruption in quantity, of which Fortunatus is a later but most glaring example. Maximianus himself does not hesitate to lengthen the *o* of *Bŏeti*, III 48.

I 63.

> Ibam per mediam uenali corpore Romam
>   Spectandus cunctis undique uirginibus.

I have already stated my suspicion that *uenali* conveys a possible allusion to another name of Maxim. (Ἀντ-ώνιος), cf. an epigram of the Greek Anthology, XI 181,

> Ἠίδειμεν, Πολέμων, Ἀντώνιον ὄντα σε πάντες.
>   Ἐξαπίνης τρία σοι γράμματα πῶς ἔλιπεν;

There is, however, some plausibility in *uernali*, a reading found in Pithou and some early editions.

I 67.

> Et nunc subridens latebras fugitiua petebat,
>   Non tamen effugiens tota latere uolens.

So most MSS, including E, except that the first *f* is written over
and *efugiens* (also the reading of my Bodl.²) seems to have been
the form in which the word was first written. There is nothing
violently improbable in the assonance *effugiens* (? *et fugiens*)—
uolens, for similar cases occur in the writers of this and the ensuing
epoch, *e. g. A Borea ueniens, reppulit unda furens* (Fortunatus).
But in the preceding v. of Maxim. *subridens*, so to speak, unpleas-
antly accumulates the jingle ; and it is not impossible that he wrote
Non tamen e facie tota latere uolens. My Brit.¹ has *effigiem :*
but this can hardly be right : at least I know no case where *effigies*
is the mere ' figure.'

I 103-108.

> Diuersos diuersa iuuant: non omnibus annis
> Omnia conueniunt : res prius apta nocet.
> 105   Exultat leuitate puer, grauitate senectus,
> Inter utrumque manens stat iuuenile decus.
> Hunc tacitum tristemque decet, fit clarior ille
> Laetitia et linguae garrulitate suae.

V. 107 has a suspicious look ; for *clarior* some MSS have *gratior ;*
and Brit.¹ for *Hunc* gives *Hec,* for *ille, illa.* In any case *clarior*
must be wrong ; but the confusion of this word with *carior* is so
common as to make *carior,* long ago the accepted reading, almost
certain. Though it is possible to explain the v. as printed above
in the sense ' one man of silence and reserve it well becomes to be
so,' Withof seems to me right in stumbling at this as awkward
and improbable ; and as the poet has just before been speaking of
the different charms which at successive periods engaged his fancy,
we shall obtain a perfectly logical sequence of ideas by following
Brit.¹ and writing,

> Haec tacitum tristemque decet, fit carior illa
> Laetitia et linguae garrulitate suae.

' One woman suits a man of silence and reserve : another endears
herself more by mirth and a chattering tongue.'

I 113.

> O quam dura premit miseros †condicio uitae.
> Nec mors humano subiacet arbitrio.

Nothing will persuade me that Maxim. could make the *i* of *condicio*
long. ' Quis credat Auctorem legis metricae minime ignarum, ut
caetera ostendunt plurima, tam pueriliter labi potuisse ? ' justly asks
Withof, p. 313. With some hesitation I propose *contritio,* ' how
hard is the life of distress that weighs upon the wretched, with no

power of summoning death to their relief.'   Or can *condicio* be
a gloss which has supplanted *descriptio* ?

   I 117–120.

> Me uero heu tantis defunctum in partibus olim
>   Viuum tartareas constat inire uias.
> Iam minor auditus, gustus minor, ipsa †caligant
>   Lumina, uix tactu noscere certa queo.

So the Eton MS, which I wonder to find Bährens has not followed
in the order of v. 118 *Viuum tartareas*, against most MSS *Tar-
tareas uiuum.*   But *defunctum in partibus,* even if assumed to
mean 'that played my rôle in *the discharge* of so many (or such
important) functions,' is strange and far removed from the usual
simplicity of our poet.   I would omit *in* with many of the MSS;
it might arise from *m* of *defunctum,* as it has in other cases.   In
119 *căligant* is almost as impossible as *condĭcio ;* possibly *uacil-
lant* 'are unsteady.'

   I 126.

> Atque intenta suis adstupet ipsa malis.

The MSS waver between *adstupet* (so Bodl.[1], *astupet,* Brit.[2] and
four of Bährens'), *obstupet* which is found even in E.   The best of
the Brit. Mus. MSS has *stupet.*   Bährens writes *a stupet,* against
the usual style of Maxim.   *Adstupet* not only has the support of
my excellent Bodl.[1], but is a thoroughly classical word, used by
Ovid, Statius and Seneca ; *obstupet* on the other hand is a word of
very dubious latinity, a conclusive argument with a poet so careful
in his diction.

   I 129, 130.

> Non fora sollicito, non blanda poemata fingo,
>   Litibus haud rabidis commoda dura sequor.

E has *haud,* Bodl.[2] with Brit.[2] *haut ;* perhaps rightly.   But
aut, which is found in three of Bährens' MSS and in my Bodl.[1]
(a fact on which I lay much stress), is to my mind somewhat
preferable after the double *non* of v. 129.   And so Wernsdorf.
By *commoda dura* are meant, I imagine, the gains of the lawyer's
overbearing and unscrupulous profession.

   I 139–142 are written in E,

> Et quos grata prius ciliorum serta tegebant,
>   Desuper incumbens hispida silua premit.
> Ac uelut inclusi caeco conduntur in antro
>   Toruum nescio quid eu furiale uident.

Pliny XI 157 says *cilium* was the name given by the ancients (*antiqui*) to the outermost circle of the upper eye-lid (*extremum ambitum genae superioris*). But Wernsdorf seems right in doubting whether *serta* could be applied to the eye-*lids*, suggesting as the word does the larger circle of the eye-*brows*, which, as it were, form a *festoon* round the eyes. It seems, therefore, that the rare word *cilium* is here applied improperly to the *supercilium* or eye-brow, which with age assumes a rough and disorderly appearance. The MSS mostly give *conduntur*, two of mine Brit.[1] and Bodl.[2] wrongly *clauduntur* and *cluduntur* respectively. *None* have the subjunctive. Yet the meaning is obviously that the eyes, *as if* inclosed in a cavern, have a grim and almost devilish look. Hence *condantur*, which is printed in the early German edition collated by Wernsdorf, would seem to be right. At any rate, in reading the two vv. as printed by Bährens,

> Ac uelut inclusi caeco conduntur in antro :
> Toruum nescio quid ceu furiale uident,

I have always felt myself arrested by the awkwardness of the asyndeton, nor can I feel any confidence in *ceu* against *seu* of the old German ed. and Wernsdorf. On the other hand B.'s restitution of *morte* from two MSS for *nocte* in 149, 150,

> Eripitur sine *morte* dies : caligine caeca
> Septum tartareo quis neget esse loco ?

may be right, ' I lose the day though death comes not : hemmed in as I am with the blankness of darkness, who can deny that I am in a hell-like place ? ' *Morte* is also in my Brit.[1].

I 151, sqq.

> Talia quis demens homini persuaserit auctor
> Ut cupiat uoto turpior esse suo ?
> Iam subeunt morbi, subeunt discrimina mille.
> Iam dulces epulae, deliciaeque nocent.
> 155 Cogimur a gratis animum suspendere rebus,
> Atque ut uiuamus uiuere destitimus.
> Et me †que dudum que† nulla aduersa nocebant
> Ipsa quibus regimur nunc alimenta grauant.
> Esse libet saturum, saturum mox esse pigebit.
> 160 Praestat ut †abstineam, abstinuisse nocet.

Bodl.[1] has the following variants: 154 *duplices*, 157 *Et me quem dudum nulla a. n.*, 160 *abstineas*. Vv. 151, 2 are to my mind satisfactorily emended by Withof, p. 314,

> Talia quis demens homini persuaserit auctor
> Ut cupiat, uoto turpior *ipse* suo ?

'who can be so mad a prompter as to persuade a man into desiring a condition like this, thus degrading himself *beyond the turpitude* of his vow?' The desire for a long life at the price of misery is vile enough in itself: it is doubly vile when realized in an unsightly and repulsive instance. B.'s *ecce* is comparatively tame. The interchange of *ipse, esse*, is one of the most familiar.

If *duplices epulae* is right, it would seem to mean either a second banquet succeeding the first on the same day, which would task the digestive powers; or twice the ordinary amount of food eaten by a single man, cf. *duplicia cibaria*, 'a double ration' sometimes given as a reward to soldiers who had done good service, *duplares* or *duplicarii*. The reading of 157 is that of E : *que* is probably *quem*, to which the variant *quidem* also points. The only point of doubt which a comparison of E with Bodl.' raises is whether with the former should be read a double *quem*,

> Et me quem dudum, quem nulla aduersa nocebant

or on the suggestion of Bodl.',

> Et me quem dudum iam nulla aduersa nocebant.

Bährens shows from Rönsch, Itala und die Vulgata, p. 441, that *nocere* is often constructed with an accus. in the Latin of the decadence. This is a testing passage for the purity of the MSS: several have *cui*, which bears every mark of interpolation. It remains to examine whether the harsh non-elision *abstineam, abstinuisse nocet* can be considered admissible. Such non-elisions at the end of the first half of a pentameter are found, it is true, in three passages of Catullus (LXVI 48, LXVII 44, XCVII 2), but the badness of our MSS makes the authority of these very uncertain. Maximianus has *no* instance of an unelided *m*. I cannot doubt then that Bodl.' has alone preserved the true reading *abstineas*. The remark is a *general* one, as is shown by the future *pigebit* in the line before: 'if one wishes to gormandize, he will soon repent it : if one thinks it better to refrain, this also is injurious.'

163 seqq.

> Non Veneris, non grata mihi sunt munera Bacchi,
>   Nec quicquid uitae fallere damna solet.
> Sola iacens natura manet, quae sponte per horas
>   Soluitur, et uitio carpitur ipsa suo.
> Non totiens experta mihi medicamina prosunt,
>   Non aegris quicquid ferre solebat opem.
> Sed cum materia pereunt quaecumque parantur,
>   Fit magis et damnis †tristior urna suis.

The general meaning of these vv. is clear. Maxim. complains that old age takes from him the pleasures of love, wine, and all that cheers life. The body, or perhaps the organ of appetite (*natura*), lies in solitary helplessness, obliged to relieve itself every hour by involuntary dribblings (*soluitur*) which reduce and waste it. Medical appliances have no longer their accustomed power, but the drugs he buys are wasted on the body which consumes their substance (*cum materia pereunt*); the oozing vessel (sc. the genital) becoming *tighter* with each successive loss of urine. The doses are bought to diminish the feeling of constriction; but the organ cannot retain them, and allows them to dribble away; the result of which is increased constriction. I read then

> Fit magis et damnis *strictior* urna suis.

See my note on Cat. XXII 13. *Magis* I explain, not as a double comparative, of which, however, Rönsch gives several examples, but as 'rather,' *i. e.* instead of what might be expected. *Urna* is, I think, used as suggesting *urina*, just as *uilia membra* suggests *uirilia* (Ibis 454, Fasti IV 244). It is not impossible that there is besides an allusion to the fable of the Crow and Pitcher (*urna*) Avian. XII. In that the water finds a free exit from the pitcher by means of the pebbles which the crow drops into it. Applying this to the verse of Maxim. we might read

> Fit magis et *donis* strictior urna suis.

the *dona* being in each case what the pitcher and the genital receive from without. *Dona damna* seem to be confused in Avian. XXII 10. This certainly gives a better point to the verse: the *dona* which the crow drops into the pitcher make it *laxior;* the drugs which the bodily vessel receives make it *strictior.*

I 177, 8.

> Turpe seni uultus nitidi uestesque decorae
> Quis sine iam(que) ipsum uiuere turpe sene.

Bährens acutely conjectures *Quin* for *Quis*, though I cannot approve of the rest of his emendation, *sine maestitia u. t. seni.* Whether *sene* of E represents *seni* as the Excerpta Voreana give, or *senem* as most MSS, is doubtful. I believe, however, that the true reading is

> Quinetiam est ipsum uiuere turpe seni.

The corruption may have arisen from QUİNETIAM ĪPSUM. If this hypothesis is right, *que* was introduced after *est* had fallen out,

QUINETIAM having already become QUISINEIAM. My Bodl.[2] gives *iam*, not *iamque*. In v. 177 Ommeren is probably right in changing *uultus* to *cultus*.

I 201, 2.

> Multa licet nolis referens eademque reuoluens
> †Horret et alloquium conspuit ipse suum.

The MSS with E give mostly *nobis*, but *nolis* is found in *all* my four, though in Bodl.[2] as a correction from *nobis*. That it is right I have no doubt; but I am not equally clear as to *Horret*, for which Bodl.[2] and Brit.[1] have *Narrat*. A few verses lower *horrent quae placuere modo* 'what a little while ago gave pleasure, is now disgusting,' suggests that Maxim. may have used *horrere* somewhat similarly here: 'Whilst he tells his tiresome stories, and retails them again, whether you like or no, *he becomes disgusting* and slobbers his own words with saliva.' Compare the verses of Orientius Commonitorium, p. 83, ed. Pisaur. *Ceruix colla manus et quod nunc omnibus horret Heu miseris quondam causa furoris erant*, in a similar description of old age.

I 209, 210.

> Hae sunt primitiae mortis, his partibus aetas
> Defluit et pigris gressibus ima petit.

The words *his partibus* seem to mean 'by these degrees.' Each of the above-mentioned signs of senility marks a nearer approach to death.

I 214.

> Quaeque breuis fuerat iam modo longa mihi est.

Here we have a trace of declining latinity: *iam modo* is merely a stronger *iam*.

I 219, 220.

> Fitque tripes prorsus quadrupes, ut paruulus infans,
> Et per sordentem (flebile) repit humum.

Prorsus, though the reading of E and Bodl.[1], must, I think, give way to *rursus*, which I have found in Bodl.[2]. For the sense is obviously, not that the old man becomes a *complete* quadruped and goes on all fours like a child, but from his man's biped, later life's triped and staff-supported attitude *returns* in extreme old age to something like the crawling on all fours of his first infancy.

I 233, 4.

> Quid miseros uariis prodest †expendere poenis?
> Non est materni pectoris ista pati.

E, Bodl.[1] and Brit.[1] all have *expendere;* a Leyden MS, which

Bährens calls G, gives *extendere*. This, as against *suspendere* of
the other MSS, I would retain in the sense of 'racking.'

I 237–240.

> Quo postquam iacuit, misero quid funere differt ?
> Heu tantum adtracti corporis ossa uides,
> Cumque magis semper iaceam uiuamque iacendo
> Quis sub uitali computet esse loco ?

This is a description of the bed-rid, helpless old man. For *adtracti*
of E, Brit.[1], or *attracti* as it is written in Bodl.[1], there are variants
of which *abstracti, astricti* are alone worth considering. The
reading of most edd. and Wernsdorf is *attriti*, which has little
point. Bährens edits *adtracti*, I presume in the sense of 'shriv-
elled' or 'contracted.' But this also is a feeble anticlimax. The
poet has just compared the bed-rid dotard to a corpse. How?
in the *paralysed* condition of his body. Hence *adtacti* 'struck by
lightning' is the *natural*, and to my view the *only* adequate word.
In v. 239 *iaceam uiuamque* of E and Bodl.[2] appears in Bodl.[1],
Brit.[1] as *iaceas uiuasque*, in others as *iaceat uiuatque* or *iaceant
uiuantque*. But though a change from the old man spoken of in
the third person to a general reflexion in the second, is quite in the
style of our poet, here such a change is precluded by *uides* of v.
238. On the other hand the MS authority for the *third* person is
comparatively weak. I would therefore retain *iaceam uiuamque*
with Wernsdorf and the latest editor. The last v. is very problem-
atical : *conputet*, E, Brit.[1] and three other MSS used by Bährens,
me putet both Bodleian, with Brit.[2]. Before Bährens had printed
his edition, I had conjectured what I now find there *non putet :*
the rest of the verse he writes thus :

> Quis funus tali non putet esse loco ?

which though ingenious is a little tautologous. *Vitalis lectus* is
used by Petronius for a bier, *uitalia* for grave-clothes ; may not
loco then be an error for *rogo*, as in IV 2 *ioco* has become *rogo* in
Brit.[1] ? 'who would not think I was lying on my bier *beneath the
funeral pile*, ready to be hoisted upon it for burning ? ' If this
should seem too forced, I would suggest

> Quis *subdiuali* me putet esse loco ?

who would believe I still enjoyed the light of day ?

I 257–260.

> Vincimur infirmi defectu corporis et qua
> Noluero, infelix hac ego parte trahor.
> Omnia naturae soluuntur uiscera nostrae,
> Et tam praeclarum quam male nutat opus.

' I am overpower'd by the weakness that makes my body fail, and dragged moaning where I would not go.'   His limbs are not under perfect control and sometimes drag him *away* from the place he aims to find.   'All the inner parts of my bodily frame give way, this fine structure, how vilely it sways to its ruin!'

It is, however, difficult to believe that *uiscera* is not an error for *uincula:* the body can ill *hold together*, and the framework threatens to give way.   *Vincula* are the fastenings which hold the bodily structure together.

II 4.

Respuit amplexus heu *pauefacta* meos.

My two best MSS, Bodl.¹ Brit.¹ as well as the Eton have *paue-facta*.   The others give for the most part *stupefacta*, in every way an inferior word.   Old age might *frighten off* Lycoris, but it would hardly produce on her the effect of an overpowering and unnerving terror.

II 7.

Nec meminisse *uolet* transactae dulcia uitae.

Neither Wernsdorf's *ualet* nor Ommeren's *solet* is any improvement.   Lycoris *refuses* to remember the past: it is a plaintive expression of what she might have been expected to do and will not do any more.   So V 148 *uictos Diligis et uinci tu quoque saepe uoles*.   In both cases the future very nearly equals the present.

II 9, 10.

Immo etiam causas ingrata ac perfida fingit,
Respretū uitio iudicet esse meo.

So E; the other MSS have generally *Ut spretum u. iudicet e. m.* (Bodl.² Brit.¹), or *Ut spretus u. ˙iudicer e. m.*   Bährens feeling the harshness of omitting the pronoun, writes *Ut spretum uitio me indicet esse meo*, against the practice of Maximianus, who never elides in this part of the pentameter.   With Wernsdorf, I look on *iudicer* as right; the change to *iudicet* would cause *spretus* to become *spretum;* but *esse*, I believe, as in hundreds of instances, has taken the place of *ipse*.   I would write then

Ut spretus uitio iudicer *ipse* meo.

As I have stated above, Withof has made the same correction in I 152.

II 17, 18.

En quid longa dies nunc affert : ut sibi quemquam
Quondam dilectum prodere turpe putet.

So E; but all the other MSS collated by B. or me have *quisquam.* For *En* of E and Bodl.², most MSS give *Heu* (*Eu*), Bodl.¹ absurdly *Et;* for *affert* of E, Brit.¹, *affers* Bodl.¹, *aufert* Bodl.² and most of Bährens' MSS.

Bährens rightly suggests in his critical note that *nunc* should be *non:* the passage is a clear imitation of Ecl. IX 51 *Omnia fert aetas,* hence *aufert* would seem to be right, '*En quid longa dies non aufert: ut sibi quisquam,*' κτλ., 'See now, what is there that length of time does not carry off with it? Imagine any one thinking it disgraceful to betray a former friend!' *i. e.,* as Catullus says, *Omnia sunt ingrata, nihil fecisse benigne Prodest.*

II 22.

Extinctum meritis uiuere criminibus.

The *merita crimina* are the charges of old age and impotence, or rather of attempting to play the gallant under such conditions.

II 25–28.

> †Atque tamen (equidem, Bodl.¹) niuei circumdant tempora cani,
>   Et iam caeruleis inficit hora (ora, Bodl.¹) notis,
> Prestat adhuc nimiumque sibi preciosa (speciosa, Bodl.¹) uidetur
>   Atque annos mecum despicit illa suos.

Critically, this is a very difficult passage. The general meaning, however, is tolerably clear. 'Lycoris is growing gray; yet she holds out still and thinks herself a beauty, and makes light of her years as she does of me.'

The reading given above is that of E and Bodl.¹, the variants are *Atque eadem* Bährens' G, *ceruleus i. o. color* Bodl.², Brit.², *ceruleis i. o. color* Brit.¹, *ipsa suos* Bodl.², Brit.². It is scarcely possible that *Atque equidem,* thoroughly classical though it is, and not uncommon in Plautus, *e. g.* Mil. 3. 1. 55, Most. 5. 1. 2, Poen. 3. 1. 5, capable, too, of being combined with the 3d person, as in Mil. 3. 1. 55, can be right here. For, as the poet has just before spoken of himself *Iam nihil est totum quod uiximus,* the transition to Lycoris seems to require some expression which would bring her into prominence in contrast with her lover. Hence *Atque ea dum* (Wernsdorf) is plausible, and less violent than *Dumque tamen* (Bährens). But if this is dubious, far more so is the following line. At first it might seem that the corresponding pentameter of Avianus VI 12, spoken of an ape *Pallida caeruleus cui notat ora color* was conclusive in favor of this reading in Maxim. The lengthening of *caeruleūs* before *inficit* might be supported by *mortīs his,* I 209, and a great number of similar cases in Avianus'

Fables, from which Lachmann in vain attempted to banish them.
But it is a grave circumstance that *ceruleis* is found in E, Bodl.¹,
Brit.¹, in the last combined with *color;* and repeated perusals of
our poet make me feel more and more strongly the strict rules of
his rhythm.   Hence, against Bährens, I incline to retain the abl.
and would write either *caeruleis inficit ora color ;* ' with blues,' *i. e.*
streaks of blue, or, which is less probable in consequence of *hora-
que summa trahit* in v. 24 (cf. hcwever, 32 *ueteris*, 33 *ueterum*),
caeruleis inficit hora notis.   In v. 27 *Perstat* not *Restat* is rightly
restored by Bährens.

II 33, 34.

> Relliquiis ueterum iuuenes pascuntur amorum
> Et si quid nunc est, quod fuit ante, placet.

Nunc all MSS rightly, 'young men banquet on the remains of
their past loves and find a charm in the survival of anything which
they cherished before.'

II 35-38.

> Ante oculos statuunt primaeui temporis actus,
> Atque in praeteritum luxuriantur opus.
> Set quia nos totus membrorum deserit usus,
> Nullus ad amplexus quod remoretur habet.

So I would write this passage, still, however, with a lingering
suspicion that *memoretur*, the reading of *all* MSS, may be right in
the sense of *nihil dignum memoratu*, 'nothing worth speaking of.'
Maximianus' ordinary rhythm is strongly against *Nullos amplexus*,
but *Nullius amplexus* of E and three other MSS is equally good
with that which I have preferred, ' None of us old men has any-
thing to detain the fair for an embrace,' with ' No old man's
embrace has anything to please.'

   The distich *Omnia nemo pati, non omnes omnia possunt Efficere :
hoc uincit femina iuncta uiro(s)* is found in all MSS and bears a
possible meaning.   Old age must console itself for the loss of love
with this reflexion ; the coition of the sexes combines a maximum
of passive sensation with no ordinary amount of *active* strain on the
functions.   I would paraphrase : ' It is beyond most men's powers
either to perform all the acts, or unite in themselves all the sensa-
tions, of the complex venereal function : this is the point in which
the female, when cohabiting, has the advantage.'

II 70.

> Dic patrem, *affectus* nomen utrumque tenet.

So Bodl.¹ and Brit.², rightly, I think, against the singular which

E with most MSS present. Either name (brother, father) has its tender feelings.

III 11.

> Carmina, pensa procul nimium dilecta iacebant.

So E and Brit.¹. This part of the poems has unfortunately been torn out in Bodl.¹. Brit.² and Bodl.² with most of B.'s MSS give *Stamina* for *Carmina*. I have little doubt that *Carmina* is the right reading, and if it is, it is, so far as I know, the most certain case of a very rare sense of the word, ' cards ' for preparing wool. The passage of Claudian, Eutrop. II 458 *Quam bene texentum laudabas carmina tutus Et matutinis pellebas frigora mensis*, is also, I think, tolerably clear; perhaps, too, this is the meaning in the well-known inscription C. I. L. 1009 *En hoc in tumulo cinerem nostri corporis Infistae Parcae deposierunt carmine.* In Prop. IV 7, 51 *Iuro ego fatorum nulli reuolubile carmen* the meaning is ' thread.'

III 19.

> Prensabant oculos nutusque per omnia nostros
> Quaeque solet mentis ducere signa color.

Prensabant E, Brit.¹, *Pensabant* Bodl.², Brit.², which B. retains. Yet surely the governor (*pedagogus*) and mother would scarcely take the trouble to *weigh* the meaning of glances, nods or blushes, which were sufficiently clear without any such pondering ; they would, in familiar language, *be down upon* the signs which betrayed the lovers, and they would do this *regularly* and on each occasion that offered (*per omnia*). Nor can I see any necessity for changing *color* to *calor*. On the other hand, the simple directness of Maximianus seems to require *Quique*, which is found in most MSS. *Quaeque*, indeed, the reading of E, has a good sense, for to the color which spreads over the face the signs of inward feeling (*mentis signa*) are natural concomitants.

III 23.

> At postquam teneram rupit uerecundia frontem.

I signalize here, in deference to Withof (one of the best philological critics of the 18th century), who thought *uerĕcundia* inadmissible, the reading of Brit.¹ *iracundia*. It cannot be right, for *rupit frontem* admirably expresses the way in which modesty finally succumbs and passion asserts itself undisguisedly. Moreover, *frons inuerecunda* is found in Quintilian. We might translate ' when modesty broke through the coy reserve of youth.'

If any change is made, *uecordia* would be the easiest substitute; see on V 55.

III 31.

> Increpitat caeditque, fouentur caedibus ignes,
> Ut solet adiecto crescere flamma rogo.

So E, and Bährens is certainly right in restoring this reading, though the use of *caedibus* for 'blows' is, so far as I know, unexampled. Ovid, indeed, Am. I 7, 27 *Quid mihi uobiscum caedis scelerumque ministrae ? alludes* in *caedis* to the blows he had given Corinna. Whether this rare use becomes more frequent in the decline of Latin, my studies are not sufficient to have ascertained ; but it is palpable that the unusually great number of variants in the MSS were *produced* by the difficulty of the word : and this passage is therefore one of the most telling for the goodness of E. If *rogo* is genuine, it must mean 'logs for the funeral pyre,' as Wernsdorf explains. Equally commendable is B.'s return to the MS reading in v. 35 *Tum me uisceribus per totum quaerit anhelis*, with which the line of Reposianus 117 *totis pulmonibus ardor anhelat* may fitly be compared. There is no authority for *perterrita*. It is, however, not impossible that *anhelās* rather than *anhelis* was written by Maxim., as B.'s Riccardi MS has *annelat̤*, and *per totum* is slightly less awkward with the participle. Or should we read *per tutum*, 'she sought me out in a safe moment'?

III 37.

> Nec memorare pudet turpesque reuoluere uestes.

reuoluere E with most MSS, *resoluere* Brit.[1], Brit.[2], *reloluere* B.'s F (Riccardi). If genuine *reuoluere* must mean ' to strip back,' of course with the object of displaying the blows ; the garments are called *turpes*, from the *disorder'd* appearance which the beating of Aquilina by her mother had left upon them. *Euoluere*, found in a Luneburg MS and adopted by Wernsdorf, is specious, but the rhythm is against it.

III 42.

> Quae nihil inminuit passio, nulla fuit.

'Suffering *which brings no loss*, does not deserve the name,' not, as Wernsdorf, 'suffering, which brings no loss of affection, is not worth the name.' She glories in her sufferings as a martyr, rejoicing that she is thought worthy of blows for her lover's sake. Brit.[1] has a strange v. l. *intimuit*, *i. e. intumuit*, suffering not severe enough to cause anger.

III 53, 4.

> Dicito et unde nouo correptus carperis aestu
> Dicito et edicti sume doloris opem.

So E. *Dicito* (53) appears as *Dicis* in Brit.'.[2] and Bährens re-
tains it with *quando* for *et unde.* I prefer to this Withof's conj.
Cuius et unde, but will mention a conj. of my own which, though
close to the reading of many MSS *Dic ait,* is yet different and may
perhaps account for the peculiar variants of v. 54 where for *dicito*
F and the old Paris ed. have *dicas.*

> Dic, ais, unde nouo correptus carperis aestu?
> Dic, ais, et dicti sume doloris opem.

Dic ais has become in 53 *Dicis,* in 54 *Dicas.*

IV 5, 6.

> Sic uicibus uariis alterni fallimur anni
> Et mutata magis tempora grata mihi.

So E, I think rightly. 'Thus it is we are beguiled by the shifting
phases of the year's alternations.' By *alterni anni* he means, I
believe, the alternation of seasons in the year. Possibly, however,
alterni anni is 'of one year alternating with another,' *i. e.* succes-
sive years bring different pleasures.

IV 11, 12.

> Nunc niueis digitis, nunc pulsans pectine chordas,
> Argute quicquam murmure dulce loqui.

So E and Brit.'. Bährens conj. *quiddam,* perhaps rightly. But
quid non seems also possible, 'what sweet tone was there she
would not utter?'

IV 23.

> O quotiens demens, quotiens sine mente putabar,
> Nec puto falebar non bene sanus eram.
> Atque aliquis cui caeca foret bene nota uoluptas
> Canta cantantem maximi anus amat.

So E, which might be translated thus: 'How often was I believed
to be a madman, how often crazy! And yet, I think, I was not
wholly wrong in my fancies (of being close to Candida, and speak-
ing as if she was with me), I was in an unsound state of mind and
could not distinguish reality from fancy. Then some one, skilful
in discerning the secret of love, would say: 'Sing, it is a singer
Maximianus loves'; *i. e.* would request some one to sing,
as giving Maximianus pleasure by recalling the songs of his
Candida. But though this gives a meaning, it is not a good one;
and the reading of most MSS *Cantat* is simpler and more probable.

'Some one would sing (presumably, of love), and I, Maximianus, would immediately love him for his song.' He was so much in love with Candida that it gave him pleasure to hear any one sing of love. So the French translator in Didot's series.

To return to vv. 23, 24 : *sine mente* seems suspicious, as too like *demens* in meaning, and still more in sound. Brit.[2] has *sine arte;* possibly *sine corde*, 'senseless,' the opposite of *cor habet*, or *sine fronte*, 'shameless,' is right.

IV 29, 30.

> Nam subito inficiens uultum pallorque ruborque
> Internum clausae uocis habebat opus.

So E against most other MSS which have *Interdum;* the Leyden MS (G), however, gives *Interius.* Again E seems to be right alone, *interdum* after *subito* would be weak; but the paleness and blushing might well be described as performing (externally) the *inward function* of the pent-up voice, to which passion denied utterance.

IV 39, 40.

> Illius ad nomen turbatus excutit artus,
> Exilit et natam credit adesse suam.

So E, *excitat* other MSS. B. gives *succutit*, which is a bad word. I would rather, if any change is to be made, read *Prosilit* in v. 40; as for *turbatus*, I have no sort of doubt that it is an error (and a very common one) for *turbatos* which most MSS give.

IV 41, 42.

> Vana putas an uera sopor ludibria lactas
> Hoc et uerus ait pector ardor agit.

So E, other MSS give

> Vana putas an uera sopor ludibria iactat?
> Et te uerus, ait, pectoris ardor habet?

Prof. Nettleship, in a paper recently read to the Oxford Philological Society, has proved the occasional use of *lactare = decipere.* The Eton MS then, may preserve the truth in *lactās* or *lactans*, 'cajoling.' Combining this with the other MSS we might, perhaps, reconstitute it thus

> Vana putas? an uera sopor ludibria lactans,
> Et te uerus, ait, pectoris ardor agit?

'Are your fancies false? (viz. that Candida is here), or does cajoling sleep set astir illusions that are real, and is it a real inward passion that stirs you?' Yet the word is odd, and the ordinary

reading *iactat* admits of a good sense, 'Are the *light illusions* of sleep true?'

IV 48.

> Et tacitis precibus dicere plura rogat.

discere, Brit.[1] and so B. I cling to the older reading, chiefly as found in E.

IV 53, 54.

> Deserimur uitiis: fugit indignata uoluptas.
> Nec, quod non possum, non uoluisse meum est.

So E, possibly *non doluisse.* 'Out upon time, which forever will leave Just enough of the past for the future to grieve.'

IV 57, 58 are written in E

> Set quis has possit naturae adtingere partes
> Clarus et ut sapiens noxia saepe uelit?

In spite of Bährens, who quotes I 209, I cannot think it probable that *quis* was lengthened here before *has.* The other MSS give *sed quis ad has* or *Has sed quis.* Perhaps *Ecquis ad has.* Whether *Clarus*, which would refer to Maximianus' high position and his employment as *legatus* in the East, or *Gnarus* of the other MSS, which would allude to his age and experience, is read, makes little difference. But *ut et* is more direct than *et ut.*

> Ecquis ad has possit naturae adtingere partes,
> Clarus ut et sapiens noxia saepe uelit? •

'Is there any that can fathom this part of nature's workings, I mean that a man of high mark and experience is often found to wish for what will hurt him?' He of course alludes to the amour with the Greek *lena* in El. V.

V 1.

> partes
> Missu adeo as legati munere functus.

So E for *Missus ad Eoas.* Bährens makes no mention of *partes* being written over the line. *Functus*, which the majority of MSS have, seems to have been written as an explanation of the abl. *munere* and then to have got into the text, ousting *partes.*

V 20.

> Efficior demens alter Ulixes ego.

E has *Ulixes*, Bodl.[1] and Brit.[1] *Ulixis*, which may, I think, be right as a form of the nominative.

V 21.

> Et qui non poteram tantas euadere moles
> Nescius in scopulos et uada caeca feror.
> Quis referat gressus certa sub lege mouentes,
> Suspensosque nouis plausibus ire pedes?

Qui non (E), for which most MSS give *quia non*, Brit.[1] *quantum* (see below on 55) seems to me more recondite and elegant than *quia non*, and would have been naturally altered into it. For *sub lege mouentes* two of B.'s MSS give *se*, and so Bodl.[1] and[2]. This is undoubtedly choicer as Latin, but *mouentes* as a participle of the neuter *mouere*, if not of the deponent *moueri*, ' to dance,' might be supported by parallel instances. But what can be the sense of *nouis plausibus?* Possibly he means that the *lena's* feet, like those of a ballet-dancer, only just touched the ground *(suspensos*, on tip-toe, as it were) and made a slight patting sound which was Greek and *new* to our Italian visitor. But my first impression of strangeness in reading the line is not removed by this explanation; and I think that here as in some MSS of Cat. LXIII 27 *nouis* has supplanted *nothis*, νόθοις κρότοισι, *feigned* patterings, *i. e.* which were so light as hardly to seem real.

V 29. I prefer *stomachi fultura* of most MSS to *st. iunctura* of E. By *fultura* is meant the swelling and projecting stomach which *underprops* the breast; by *iunctura* the fine and smooth joining of the stomach in its relation to the surrounding limbs.

V 31.

> Terrebar teneros astringere fortiter artus.

Bährens *Pellebar*, possibly *Torrebar*, 'I smouldered with desire.'

V 55.

> Erubui stupui quia tunc uerecundia motus
> Abstulit et blandum terror ademit opus.

Perhaps *tantum uecordia*, 'so utterly did my fatuity unnerve me.' Tac. Ann. IV 22 *Numantina accusata iniecisse uecordiam marito.*

V 84.

> Nec uelut expositum surgere uidit opus.

I greatly doubt Ommeren's *onus*, considering the peculiar associations connected with *opus, facere*, etc. It is clear that *opus* is here 'the function' of love, which, as suggesting the instrument, is said *surgere*. In v. 103 *exposito funere* is used of a body laid out for burial. On the same principle I would explain it here nearly = *mortuum*. If any change is necessary, it would be easy to correct *ex positu*, 'from its posture of helplessness.'

V 137, 138.

> Nam nunc ingenio, magnis nunc uiribus usus usa
> Non neq[d] inpenis non es amica malis.

This is the reading of E.   Possibly

> Nam nunc ingenio, magnis nunc uiribus usa,
> Non nequam technis, non es amica malis.

Techna, 'wiles,' is a word much used by Ennodius.   See Hartel's
Index to his edition (Vindob. 1882).

R. ELLIS.

NOTE.—Students of Early English may be interested to learn that at least
two medieval paraphrases of Maximianus are extant in our language, one
headed 'Maximon,' made in the reign of Edward II, which has been printed
in Halliwell & Wright's Relliquiae Antiquae, another preserved in MS
Digby 86, in the Bodleian.

II.—ANALOGY AND UNIFORMITY.

The results of much of the best recent German work in etymo-
logy hold good only on the basis that the phonetic laws of any
one dialect admit of no exceptions. This principle, of uniformity,
has nowhere been so distinctly set forth as by Brugmann, several
years ago, in his well-known article on the *-as-*, *-jas-* and *-vas-*
suffixes (KZ, XXIV 7). Of the limitations specified by him I
shall speak farther on. " Ueberall wo doppelformen nicht in dem
verhältniss von mutter- und tochterform zu einander stehen, so
wie es bei ahd. *geban* und *geben* der fall ist, und wo keine dialect-
mischung nachweisbar ist, so wie bei jenem rheinfränkischen
schnute neben *schnauze*, und wo auch der gedanke ausgeschlossen
ist, dass zwei von allem anfang an nicht nur lautlich, sondern auch
functionell verschiedene formen, nach verblassung der grundbe-
deutung der ursprünglich eine gebrauchsverschiedenheit beding-
enden elemente, sich als doppelformen zusammengefunden haben,
so wie das z. b. bei praesensbildungen wie aind. *çóbhate* neben
çúmbhate, griech. λείπει neben λιμπάνει angenommen werden muss,
überall da muss die eine der beiden bildungen als associations-
bildung angesehen werden. Wirkung der lautgesetze in diver-
gierender richtung bei demselben worte desselben dialects, mit
anderen worten: rein lautliche entstehung von schwesterformen
aus einer mutterform in demselben dialecte darf man nirgends
annehmen. Unter diesen gesichtspunkt fallen z. b. griech. δοτῆρες
neben δώτορες, πλείους neben πλείονες, πλεύσομαι neben πλευσοῦμαι."

That there was originally a functional difference in the various
present stems has been often suggested by grammarians, but never
proved; most special applications of diverging forms are, by the
general principles of evolution, of later date than the appearance
of the divergence. No other theory accords with the generally
accepted view that the inflection suffixes of the Indo-European are,
in the main, derived from colorless pronominal elements. Passing
over this, however, it must be noted at the outset that the limita-
tions specified above are not at all regarded in practice. The
coexistence of younger and older forms is constantly treated as
impossible, as well as the operation of phonetic law in different

directions in *different* words. As to the former, Brugmann himself says (p. 6): " In solchen fällen verliert sich die mutterform nach kurzer zeit in der lebendigen sprache völlig, und es ist bloss die schrift oder sonst irgend welcher conventionelle brauch, jedesfalls nichts rein sprachliches, was der älteren form hier und da auch ein längeres fortbestehen neben der jüngeren verschafft." The influence of written documents does not, of course, come in question with reference to those periods whose phonetic laws form the chief subjects of investigation.

The *z* in *schnauze* is younger than the *t* in *schnute*, but Brugmann considers that their coexistence is to be explained only on the [probable enough] assumption that the latter is a borrowed word. ἔλυσα is identical with the older form of a more regular *ἔλυα, so that, by the terms of the limitation, both, and in consequence either, might be looked for in the same dialect, yet (pp. 6–7) ἔλυσα is treated as a " new word," formed on the analogy of such sigmatic aorists as ἔγραψα (Meyer, gr. gr. p. 199). So that the series becomes, not

$$\text{ἔλυσα} > \genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{\text{ἔλυσα}}{\text{*ἔλυα}}$$

but

$$\text{*ἔλυσα} > \text{*ἔλυα} > \text{ἔλυσα}.$$

In discussing the ablaut, it is assumed that the primitive speech always shortened the syllable subject to its action, and with mathematical regularity, unless the resulting forms were absolutely unpronounceable, and that the accent of the new words produced by primitive agglutination was everywhere the same. See the discussions upon the agency suffix $-ta^o r$, $-ta^e r$ (KZ, XXV 26; Studien, IX), and the suffix $-a^o s$, $-a^e s$ (KZ, XXIV 8; XXV 21). So, also, in certain tense stems, although the number of tense stems regularly weakened, or strengthened, is in Greek quite limited, while the traces of a similar system in Latin are still fewer and more doubtful. Yet the weak and strong forms of the stems must have held to each other, somehow, the relation of " mutter- und tochterform."

As a rule, the Greek drops initial and intervocalic sigma. In consequence, double forms like σῦς and ῦς are pronounced " sehr auffallend " (Meyer, gr. gr. p. 197), and, in general, initial σ is thought inexplicable unless standing for a former σϝ, or for something else of the same nature (cf. Bezz. Beitr. III 136). Sigmatic aorists and futures in pure verbs are " new words." So also *ventus*

and *sumptus* (because not **vemptus* and *sumptus*, or *ventus* and
*suntus) must be referred to different periods (KZ, XXIII 593);
-τιος and -σιος together present an insoluble problem; -σμ- cannot
be organic (KZ, XXVII 313); nasal vowels must be assumed
whenever an accented vowel plus a nasal lost the accent, or wher-
ever the hypothesis of uniformity demands this assumption for the
primitive speech, however improbable the resulting word (thus
m̥sna or *n̥sma* > *uns*, ἄμμε (De Sauss. 25); a **tn̥numai* maintained
itself instead of becoming **tnumai* (Paul u. Braune's Beitr. VIII
111); Schmidt's more probable -*mᵃm* or -*mᵃn* ought then to have
been written *mm̥* or more logically still *mn̥* (first person plur., KZ,
XXV 591), etc., etc.

The principle, carried to this extreme, is new. It has been
generally held that dialects differ not in single particulars alone,
but rather in a certain proportion and sum of particulars. This
sum has been considered indeterminate, so that the line of classifi-
cation has remained indistinct, but this result is not peculiar to
linguistics. Everywhere, where evolution and consequent genetic
relationship is in question, the attempt to draw a hard fast line of
demarcation has proved unsuccessful.

Phonetic differences constitute but a small part of the differences
between cognate forms of speech. If the Latin is compared with
the Greek (and it makes no difference whether a common Graeco-
Italic period is assumed or not), the difference between their
phonetic systems seems relatively unimportant; the Latin has lost
the dual, has no article, has preserved the ablative and distributed
its case signification somewhat differently, has lost its middle as a
voice, changed the tense system, merged together the optative
and subjunctive, given prominence to a different set of suffixes of
comparison, does not readily form compounds, etc., etc.

All this has simply the import of a different organization, arising
from the accumulating force of new analogies. Yet such new
analogies must have had their beginning as variations within one
common dialect (whether removed from the Greek and the Latin
by one plane or more), and could not have presented themselves
had there been in the parent tongue a precise correspondence
between internal content and vocal symbol, if the language had
been, in all its parts, a fixed uniform vehicle of expression. Indeed,
the contrary must be looked for; for if language is to serve as a
useful medium for the expression of the innumerable delicate
shades of thought, and in the mouths of uncultivated peoples, who

never attain to a precise conception of any other than the simplest physical relations, then the boundary line between many notions, as between many aspects of the dative, locative, instrumental and ablative (cf. KZ, XXVII 291), between notions of source and agency, between subjunctive and optative modes of action and even future action, must always have been an uncertain one. It is in vain to look for a consistent, regular primitive syntactical system, and accordingly the determinations of "proethnic" syntax have failed. It is quite as probable as anything else that the case-system of the Sanscrit and the verb-inflexion of the Greek are far more full and precise than that of the particular stage of development from which they are immediately derived. Schmidt, in the article quoted above, maintains that the Sanscrit has extended the locative formation beyond its original range, for a locative "without case-suffix" (stems in -*man*) means simply an undeveloped locative, while hitherto it has been considered that such forms in "the languages" were remnants of a primitive well-developed inflexion. The primary use to which language is put is the expression of meaning, the expression, that is, of the indefinitely varying and often inaccurate meaning of the individual, and to this necessity the comparatively few vocal signs must bend themselves. Moreover, metaphor, conscious or unconscious, has very much to do with it. Now the inception of each stage in such change cannot be conceived as the work of the entire community, large or small; it is the work of this or that individual; each step is tentative at first, a word being gradually pushed beyond its normal sphere of signification, the new meaning winning its way by transfer from one person to another, by a kind of wave action, such as that by which Schmidt formerly proposed to explain "European *e*," etc. But why should it reach every person in the community?

I doubt whether any one will dispute the general truth of this outline of one important part of the methods by which a language may vary, and thus of course lay the foundation for breaking up into two languages. It, however, directly involves the assumption of a period when there is variation within one and the same dialect. Is the origin of new phonetic systems of an altogether different character? Change of meaning and change of form go hand in hand together, and it might be expected that what appears to be the broad outline of the process in one should hold good of the other also.

A direct, *a priori* proof of the truth of the principle of uniformity

should perhaps not be required; it might be sufficient could it be shown that the results of the work done on this basis are consistent, and at once commend themselves as trustworthy; that the deductions of different students with respect to matters of detail, such as the history of single flexional endings and forms, coincide with each other, or at least tend to converge; that the difficulties and obscurities grow less at every step. It is needless to point out here that this is not the case (see p. 176). The tendency to precision in etymologizing has been gradually increasing ever since the time of Bopp, and has indeed attained some brilliant results (Verner's L., palatalization, ablaut, *η̣*, *ṃ*, *a˙*, *a°*) of late; many apparent irregularities have been brought under law. But it has not been shown that one and the same law is imperative over the whole field, nor that there may not still be numerous sporadic exceptions. Precision in accounting for certain classes of variations and thoroughgoing uniformity are different things.

When we turn to the actually recorded forms of Greek, Latin and Sanscrit, we find a mass of irregularities far outnumbering the cases that show the action of uniform law, and this not merely in different stems compared with each other, but in different forms of the same stem. An amount of variation like that presenting itself in the Sanscrit *uṣas-* and *uṣās-* (strong and weak forms wrongly distributed), Greek **αὐσοσ-* and Latin *aurōr-* (each generalized through the declension) is the rule. Such irregularities are most frequently attributed to analogy, *e. g.* πατρός became πατέρος under the influence of πατέρα. The complex character of these assumed changes is well seen in the treatment of some of the forms of one common word, viz. *pēs*, πούς, Dor. nom. πώς and πός, *pĕdem*, *pĕdis*, πόδος, πόδα. (The gen. has regularly a weak, the acc. a strong stem.)

Brugmann (Stud. IX 368–87), basing on a primitive ablaut relation *o : e*, explains *pĕdem*, instead of **pŏdem*, as due to the analogy of *pĕdis*. The Greek reversed this, changing **πεδός* to ποδός, from the analogy of πόδα. The long vowels in *pēs* and πούς he would account for in a different way. Finally (p. 382), he points out phenomena inconsistent with his ablaut scheme, and suggests that these are due to accentual relations at present unknown.

J. Schmidt (KZ, XXV 13), basing on an ablaut *ō : e*, considers πώς primitive, πός as altered from this through the analogy of the weak stem (I am not sure that I quite understand), and then, going somewhat farther afield than usual, explains πούς as due

either to the analogy of stems in -οντ- (as ὀδούς) or to the influence of πός (mixture of dialects, unsuspected by Brugmann). He and Brugmann, of course, agree in the explanation of ποδός.

On the basis of uniformity, this is thoroughly good work, but can any one have the slightest confidence that ground for exact treatment is really permanently won, when long series of such complicated combinations as these are in question? And yet, the treatment of this single word affords a fair picture of the present results, in matters of detail, of recent work. It is not that the principle of analogy is pressed beyond its legitimate application, for there is perhaps no word or form in the whole Indogermanic stock of vocables which has not been more or less modified by its action; on the contrary, it may be questioned whether sufficient account has been taken of its variety, its constancy and its probable antiquity.

As an acknowledged disturbing force, analogy is competent to explain away any number of exceptions to any well-established law, and may be considered as the probable source of an irregularity, even where the particular model of the irregularity can no longer be pointed out. At present, however, we unfortunately possess no means of determining with certainty the laws and limits of its action, so that in most cases where it is appealed to, it is at best but a probable *hypothesis.* It is not admissible where the law is itself in question, and where the exceptions are very greatly in preponderance. It must first be proved that ποδός could not have retained its primitive vowel unchanged (Brugmann's ablaut scheme), or (despite of πεζός) could not have simply shortened it (from ō, Schmidt's scheme). Nay more than this, it must first be shown that in that agglutination of two words, each with its own accent, out of which grew the genitive case, the unification of the accents took the same course in all words and with all speakers.

There is, as implied above, one feature of the action of analogy that seems to have been lost sight of, its probable presence during all the periods of the life of the Indogermanic, the earlier as well as the later. Thus, Brugmann bases Sanscrit *tamasá-* upon an earlier **tamsá-* (this latter from a still earlier **tamasá-* by ablaut action, cf. Lith. *tamsà*), the penultimate *a* being restored from the analogy of *támas-* (KZ, XXIV 12): that is, this influence was dormant in proethnic times. Schmidt (KZ, XXV 592) assumes the existence of an earlier **στέ*, **stis*, forms in which the radical *a°* had dropped out before the accented final (cf. Sanscrit *sthá*); ἐστέ

and *estis* are then to be regarded as new forms, due to the analogy of the singular, which regularly retains the radical vowel. Why should not the same analogy have been strong enough, in the primitive speech, to have prevented the complete loss, at any time, of the vowel of the root? Even by the terms of the limitation quoted at the beginning of this paper, analogy may produce contemporaneous forms diverging quite as much as unaltered *tamasá-* and ἐστί, compared with Lith. *tamsà* and Sanscrit *sthá.* The same line of argument may be followed with respect to sigmatic aorists in pure verbs.

The mechanism by which uniformity is to be attained is not at once manifest. The thing now to be explained is how new phonetic tendencies become *diffused* through all parts of the language. How does it happen that all the members of a community, differing as they do in general precision in their use of the meanings, and, moreover, in almost all other muscular actions, come to coincide so perfectly with respect to phonetic form? Indeed, it is even difficult to understand how any single new phonetic tendency can at once affect the whole vocabulary of the individual. Granting the fact of such a transformation, there is but one possible explanation, and this is given by Brugmann himself (p. 4): " Wenn eine reihe von individuen, in einem bestimmten zeitpunkt ein *r*, welches sie bis dahin regelmässig dental ausgesprochen haben, in ein gutturales *r* verwandeln . . . so nimmt diese bewegung nicht bei einzelnen bestimmten wörtern ihren anfang, so dass, was zuerst nur für diese einzelnen bestimmten wörter gilt, erst allmählich auch auf andere wörter übertragen wird, sondern die bewegung beginnt *bei den sprachorganen selbst,* und man hat zu erwarten das *jedes* bis dahin dental gesprochene *r*, ganz einerlei in welchem worte und in welcher wortkategorie es steht, . . . die abänderung erfährt." That is, the physiological alphabet of the individual (perhaps he means of a number of individuals at once) is suddenly altered.

Nothing can be more mysterious! The only force, apart from analogy (of which hereafter), that has ever been shown to act upon sounds, independent of the meaning, that is to say, the only known force or action that can be said to begin in the vocal organs, is the tendency to economize muscular action. Influence of climate, of obscure physical conformation, etc., though often suggested, have never been demonstrated, and, if existing, probably still operate by means of economy of effort. And this tendency in speaking, as in all other exertion, is intermittent.

Thus, in speaking English, individuals are by no means consistent in the endless inaccuracies of speech. The same person may say *singin* and *ringing*, *as'd* and *masked*, *clos* and *clothes* (both allowed), *often* and *ofn* (the former frequently when emphatic), *plice* (for *police*) and *polite* or *plite*. Some slovenly speakers use a hiatus-filling *r*, but only now and then. As to ablaut and ablaut-like phenomena, the variations are numberless; *drect* and *direct*, *conceal* and *cnceal*, *perhaps*, *prhaps* (and *praps*), *sm ink* for *some ink*, *s'much* and *so much*. Such variations occur in such profusion and in so many different persons that they cannot be disposed of by the assertion that the individual is affected by reminiscences of the printed form. Frequency of use, although an element not easily calculated with precision, is of the greatest importance, so that laborious statistics, which take into account merely the number of words in which any special sound occurs, and not the frequency of occurrence of particular words, should be used with caution. The Philadelphian says *Lancster* for *Lancaster* (the usual American pronunciation), the book-trade has a fine sonant nasal in *Lipncott* that the bookbuyer will not readily acquire. What landsman ever says *mainmst*, *topsl* and *starbd* (with "syllable making" *s*, *l* and *d*)?

But, furthermore, the principle of uniformity, as applied to a written literature, does not concern the individual. It does not relate to a single book, the work of this or that person, but to the entire mass of the speech, the aggregate or, as Whitney puts it, "the [loose] average" of the words and forms that constitute the whole stock of all the members of a community, and may be expected to reflect the irregularities and the incompleteness of the diffusion of new forms. Indeed it most often, as is very well known, fails to give a complete picture of the actual variety of colloquial usage.

Or shall we conceive of the process as a phonetic epidemic seizing the entire community at once; that *-ans* was everywhere heard, until one fine morning, the times perhaps being out of joint, *-ās* had everywhere taken its place?

There is no parallel in physiology to any process capable of bringing such a transmutation to pass (unless it be looked for in certain pathological affections in single persons, beginning in the nervous centres). The force that produces and maintains any degree of uniformity in the speech of a single district, whether in its internal content or in its forms, has long been perfectly well

understood, very often described, and is in no manner mysterious. It is precisely the same force as that which produces and maintains uniformity in dress, and is exposed to the same kind, though not to the same degree, of interference. It is simply communication, regulated, however, by economy, and this latter element is quite as important as the former. But there are many degrees of communication; it is more frequent between members of the same clique or of the same family, and does not involve the same words except in part. Each circle may present special speech characteristics, and these constitute a dialect, and no distinct line, save one of degree, is to be drawn between, on the one hand, those aggregates of speech phenomena, to which we conveniently confine the term cognate "dialect" or "tongue," and, on the other, the aggregate of words and forms peculiar to two individuals. The application of the term "dialect" to the idiom in use in Yorkshire, for instance, in contradistinction to the speech-characteristics of any particular limited circle there, however convenient it may be for most purposes, can only mislead, if it implies that the character of the factors at work in the district as a whole differs from that of those at work in the limited part. Economy, in its turn, generally fixes upon one out of two or more contending forms, and is perhaps the main cause of the wide divergence of two related languages. Thus the Latin has a comparative suffix -ior, and traces of another, -ter ; both occur in the Greek also (traces of the former) ; one language has given prominence to the one, the other to the other.

The result of all this is that every speech is practically a mixture of dialects, and nothing but the combined action of communication and economy, the influence of the latter preponderating over the former, prevents the same people, in the same place, from presenting speech-phenomena of as diverse a character as many of those belonging to distinct, though related, tongues. Thus regulated, the process of diffusion is as simple a process of detailed teaching by one and detailed learning by the other, as any other. But there is nothing imperative about any teaching and learning; communication may be partial and involve only part of the vocabulary; economy need not be thoroughgoing, especially where language serves any distinct art purpose. This wave-action is well illustrated by the history of *either* and *neither*, by their gradual spread from one to another and by the manner in which they are now being driven out again. It can be only by a similar wave-

action that foreign sounds spread among a people, as the Hottentot clicks among the Kaffirs, and the Sanscrit palatals among the Sinhalese (see Fr. Müller, Sprachw. III 140). The defects in the process are summed up by saying that the organization of a language is loose.

There is but one reason why a greater degree of uniformity may be attained in language than in other human institutions. There are few sounds and many things to be named; the forms of different words often approach each other very closely, so that a slight corruption may cause confusion. The adjustment between words (= the organization of the language) may become a matter of great delicacy. But language is peculiar only in the greater mass of detail, and in the consequent greater complexity of the mutual relations.

Now changes caused by analogy come directly under and illustrate this law of diffusion. *Arbos* and *arbor* occur side by side in the same dialect; *arbor*, *robur* (cf. *robustas*) and *pignus* in the vocabulary of the same individual; this incomplete diffusion of rhotacism shows well the non-imperative character of communication and imitation, while these and all other double forms prove that the economy of a language does not attain completeness. Yet Schmidt (KZ, XXVII 315, 319) opposes the usual explanation of the endings -θa and -σav, because certain other changes of the same kind are wanting (with other and good reasons).

There are, indeed, more cases of double forms due to ordinary analogy than to phonetic divergence, and for sufficiently simple reasons. Phonetic corruptions disguise the form of a word; an ear accustomed to *gnatus* might not at first recognize *natus*, so that the change must go on slowly, and no great number of phonetic changes can be made at one and the same time; the wide differences between cognate words of the same dialect are the result only of many successive epochs of alteration and repeated adjustment. Furthermore, the material operated upon, that is, the alphabetic elements of a language and their various combinations, is comparatively small in amount. But the operation of ordinary analogy facilitates comprehension; *arbor* has a clearer connection with *arborem* than the older *arbos*, so that the alteration does not need to proceed as slowly as a more purely phonetic corruption. Finally, the material is as extensive as the whole vocabulary, so that the impulse to analogy-transfer is multiform.

The principle referring the inception of phonetic change to the

vocal organs, making it consist in an alteration of the physiological alphabet, separates too widely those cases that might possibly fall under it (where two dialects differ throughout in the position or quality, or both, of single sounds) from all the other, vastly more numerous phonetic changes and correspondences. Something altogether different must underlie those cases of sporadic change where a sound is lost in some words but preserved in others, cf. *γενε(σ)ος* and *ἔλυσα*. So also in the special laws of finals; thus the Greek changes *μ* to *ν*, and hardly tolerates final *κ*, yet *κ* closes a syllable in *βάκχειος*, and *μ* in *συμβαίνω*. All the regular correspondences of Grimm's Law furnish further instances; *th* in *three* is shifted from primitive *t*, yet *t* is fully represented in the language, both where it is shifted from a primitive front palatal sonant and elsewhere.

In passing, I may point out a special difficulty in the case of the Latin alteration of the front palatal aspirate to *b* and *d*. By the principle of uniformity, this aspirate should have given way everywhere to one and the same sound. Yet, at some point in the course of development (whether immediately or through some transitional sound does not concern us) were formed from the front palatal aspirate, two coexistent sounds, not holding to each other the relation of "mutter- und tochterform." Passing over *rufus*, compare *ruber* and *vadimonium* with *ἐρυθρός* and *ἄεθλος*.

That the law of economy of muscular effort is quite as incompetent to explain the rotation of the mutes, and also the peculiarities of finals, is well known. It does not succeed much better with respect to the remarkable differences that exist between the methods in which different languages economize muscular energy. Why should two cognate tongues treat so differently combinations of sounds originally present in both, and therefore once equally easy to both? But I need not enter into detail here; the obscurity of the causes of these differences has been very often pointed out.

That action of analogy which results in the different organization or distribution of the significant content of cognate languages has already (p. 174) been discussed. It is, perhaps, the most probable supposition that most purely phonetic corruption may also be referred to analogy, its action working, on the whole, in the "line of least resistance," as the physicists put it, that is, towards economy of effort. Or it may be stated conversely; the constant impulse towards economy of effort, in any one word, is held in check by the analogy of the sounds and combinations found in other words of the language.

The full discussion and illustration of this subject would lead too far. To make the point clear, however, take the case of inorganic sounds. These are always, as has been pointed out by others, such sounds as occur in the physiological alphabet of the language in which they arise. The Greek possesses organic -νδρ- and -νθρ-; the reminiscence of these combinations facilitated the action of economy of effort in ἀν(δ)ρός and ἄν(θ)ρωπος, two coexistent methods of altering a combination whose possibility has sometimes been denied, and probably with justice, if none but mechanical considerations are kept in view. So in English *found* may have produced *gown(d)*. A peculiar inorganic *t*, in *str* from *sr* (mainly in Germ. and Slav.) is difficult to explain, because *s* is not a close sound, and therefore *t* does not lie exactly in the line of transition from *s* to *r*, but *str* is probably modelled after organic *str*. Probably the case of parasitic sounds is not so exceptional as may at first sight appear; everywhere groups, and not single sounds, are the factors concerned; not ρ followed by α, as two elements, conceived as distinct, but ρα present, as an integral moment, in the speech (cf. τρέπω and τράπω).

In thus seeking the origin of most new phonetic tendencies in the previous constitution of a language, something may be gained in partly removing the mystery of the possible source of their inception, and in rendering the problem with respect to form nearly the same as that which concerns the distribution of the significant content. So far as our subject is concerned, it may be pointed out that analogy here, as elsewhere, would affect but a part of the dialect at first, so that double forms, such as ἀνέρος and ἀνδρός, might appear side by side in the same linguistic horizon. Very many questions with respect to all the details of growth, both as to form and internal content, can indeed never be answered from the imperfection of the records. The full solution would require exact statistics as to the number of words and forms in use at any particular time, above all of new and borrowed words and obsolescent words, of their relative frequency of occurrence, as well as the relative frequency of the occurrence of particular sounds and combinations of sounds.

No one likes to put forth a plea for an apparently less scientific method, and above all, when such views would seem to introduce confusion and uncertainty into many subjects which have been lately treated with an attempt at precision. But the honest truth is that things cannot well come to a worse pass; nothing can

increase the prevailing uncertainty; there is so little unanimity with respect to what is to be considered special phonetic law, and what is to be attributed to analogy, and the appeal to analogy in any particular case is, and apparently must continue to be, of so "subjective" a character that the results recently attained as to the history of particular formative elements are insecure to the last degree. At present, the reconstruction of the primitive system of word-formation and inflection, the correction of Schleicher's Handbuch, for instance, is impossible; there are very few suffixes, whether formative or inflective, whose original form can be regarded as determined, and the case is still worse with the restoration of the whole inflected word.

Suppose that we recognize the fact that the Science of Language is not at all an exact science, and that the comparison of cognate words, particularly, is a process in which it is impossible to avoid essential errors of every description. No enduring results are to be attained by attempting to apply unvarying law in the investigation of any series of phenomena where no experiment, so to speak, can be made under conditions that can be controlled or calculated, and where even no settled body of fundamental law has been deduced. The subject can be treated only as we treat the history of dress, weapons and tools in general; none of these subjects form a self-centred, complete science; the centre lies in general anthropology. Nor is this condition of things altogether to be regretted. Even the most exact of all the sciences, mechanics, which is more fortunately circumstanced than linguistics in that accurate experiment is possible, and that it possesses a well-established body of fundamental law, even this science is unable to solve many practical questions of great complexity; the best mathematical talent of England declined to give an opinion as to the stability of the Menai bridge.

Such considerations as the preceding have an important bearing upon the reconstruction of mother tongues. We must assume, for simple genealogical reasons, if for no others, that the primitive Indogermanic produced, through unknown transitions, a general Germanic, and this a general High German and a general Low German, the parents of two groups of modern tongues. But if from this is concluded that any one of the characteristic phenomena common to the modern High German dialects in contradistinction to the modern Low German dialects is to be necessarily looked for as prominently characteristic of the parent High German, but

as absent from the parent Low German, then very grave errors may be committed. For if it is granted that the same dialect may admit inconsistent phonetic (for instance) processes, it follows that any special process may be very inconspicuous in one tongue A, and very prominent in another B, that this process may extend itself and become the prevailing analogy in the descendants of A (if in one alone, it becomes a dialect peculiarity), and, on the other hand, may disappear from the descendants of B. Something suggesting such a possibility occurs in the history of the second rotation of the mutes (see Edgren's lists, Am. Phil. Assoc. Trans. 1880). So that the restoration of a parent tongue will probably contain a percentage of error, and there is a possibility that this percentage may be very great. And when it is further considered that new analogies are frequently introduced by the mixture of dialectic elements so commonly attending upon the rise of new languages, still stronger reasons present themselves for denying the practical validity of genealogical trees.

One thing is certain; wherever and whenever the primitive Indogermanic was spoken, it was a human language, and not a systematic contrivance of grammarians; it was undoubtedly exposed to all the accidents that befall known languages, and probably possessed an organization not one whit more perfect than that pertaining to any one of its descendants. No one now believes that its vowel-scheme was characterized by a monotony elsewhere unheard of, nor that its consonantal system was as simple as it was held to be ten years ago; all attempts to reduce its grammatical forms and its syntax to simplicity have failed. It is not probable that that degree of complexity, with which very recent research has already made us familiar, grew out of the earlier stage of agglutination with anything approaching to regularity and systematic completeness of word-formation, accentuation, ablaut change, declension, conjugation or syntactical rule, in any one of its possibly numerous dialects.

M. W. EASTON.

III.—ON THE PROBABILITY OF THE EXISTENCE OF PHONETIC LAW.

It cannot be denied that the doctrine of the inviolability of phonetic law is a dogma which from the nature of the case will never be proved.[1] Phonetic laws are confessedly crossed by the work of analogy, another powerful force, which does not act with sufficient regularity to enable us to point out its exact extent, and to allow us to eliminate it from our count so as to leave us a clear balance of phonetic action. What havoc analogy plays with phonetic law it is no longer necessary to point out in a paper intended for a philological public. It is only by a sense of linguistic taste or tact, qualities especially subjective, that the doings of analogy can be at all scanned. There is nothing inductive about this; every accepted explanation through analogy is only accepted in so far as the prevailing opinion of the best grammarians holds that the deviation from the righteous path of the phonetic law has come about thus and thus and not some other way.

Any effort to free the assumption of inviolable phonetic law from the charge of dogmatism must therefore remain futile. Indeed, the word 'inviolable' or 'infallible' in matters of grammar is always to be deprecated, if for no other reason than the one that the *conscious will* of any language-user undeniably stands above phonetic facts. If there is any phonetic law which is strongly in force it is Grimm's law, or the pronunciation of *k* and *g* as palatals before *e* and *i* in the Romance languages. In the latter case no one will believe that the Italian could not with more or less effort enunciate the syllables *ki* or *ge* without palatalization; in the case of Grimm's law it goes without saying that a consonant which has been changed could at the will of the speaker have remained unchanged. We ought rather to speak of the regularity of phonetic courses, which are never left without some positive causes for deviation.

This, however, naturally leads up to the convenient expression 'phonetic law,' where the word 'law' must be understood meta-

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[1] Cf. Whitney in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 1882, p. xviii.

phorically. And though it must be confessed that even in this modified form it is a dogma which will never be proved inductively, it is believed that a satisfactory degree of probability can be established in favor of its existence. The following are the arguments:

1. No other known theory succeeds at all in satisfactorily explaining the origin of regular phonetic change on a large scale. There is no point in Whitney's discussions of language which provides in a satisfactory manner for this phenomenon. I quote two passages from his ' Language and the Study of Language.'

On page 95 he says: ' He (the phonologist) cannot tell why sounds are found in the alphabet of one tongue which are unutterable by the speakers of another; why combinations which come without difficulty from the organs of one people are utterly eschewed by its neighbor and next of kin; why, for example, the Sanskrit will tolerate no two consonants at the end of a word, the Greek no consonant but *n, s* or *r*, the Chinese none but a nasal, the Italian none at all; why the Polynesian will form no syllable which does not end with a vowel, or which begins with more than one consonant, while the English will bear as many as six or seven consonants about a single vowel (as in *splints, strands, twelfths*); why the accent in a Latin word has its place always determined by the quantity of the syllable before the last, and rests either upon that syllable or the one that precedes it, while in Greek it may be given to either of the last three syllables, and is only partially regulated by quantity; why, again, the Irish and Bohemian lay the stress of the voice invariably upon the first syllable of a word, and their near relations the Welsh and Polish as invariably upon the penult, others still like the Russian and Sanskrit submitting it to no restriction of place whatever. These and the thousand other not less striking differences of phonetic structure and custom which might readily be pointed out, are national traits, results of differences of physical organization so subtle (if they exist at all), of influences of circumstance so recondite, of choice and habit so arbitrary and capricious, that they will never cease to elude the search of the investigator.' And on page 152, speaking of the nature of the changing influences which beset any one language in the course of its life, he says: ' We have but hinted here and there at the more recondite and most potent influences which are deep-seated in the individual character of different tongues and the qualities of the people who speak them. That complex and intricate combination of native

capacities and dispositions, acquired and inherited habits, and guiding circumstances, of which in each individual community the form and development of the common speech is a product, is in no two communities the same,' etc.

And later on in the year 1875 he writes in essentially the same strain in his book ' Life and Growth of Language,' p. 72 fg.

As far as these sentences contain any explanation at all for phonetic phenomena of wider scope, this is not very far removed from the theory of phonetic law. And when he speaks of them as 'national traits, results of subtle differences of physical organization,' we have something even approaching an explanation of their ultimate cause. These passages certainly contain no explanation of these facts that might render superfluous the theory of phonetic law.

Professor Easton, in the preceding article, expresses the belief 'that most purely phonetic corruption may also be referred to analogy, its action working on the whole in the "line of least resistance," as the physicists put it, that is towards economy of effort.' That is, if the θ of ἄνθρωπος is not an original member of the word, it is supposed that it has gotten into the word according to the pattern of other words which contain the ' organic ' combination -νθρ-, and in the same way he explains most other purely phonetic " corruption.' This supposition, which in the case of the solitary word ἄνθρωπος may or may not be correct, is of no avail when broader phenomena of phonetic change are concerned. Chiefly for three reasons. First, it does not account for phonetic phenomena which repeat themselves in various widely separated localities and periods. So for instance, the insertion of d and b between n and r and m and r. This appears in such widely separated languages and periods as are represented by Sanskrit *ambla* = *amla* 'sour,' (*m*)*brū* = Zend *mrū* ' to speak'; Greek ἀνδρός, μεσημβρία; French *cindre* and *chambre;* German ' *Hein-d-rich*,' etc.; the assumption that the same analogy has come into play independently under these various conditions is altogether unwarrantable. Secondly, the extraordinary regularity with which certain phonetic changes take place is in no way accounted for by this supposition. Granted that Indo-European **geusō* was changed to Gothic *kiusa* on the basis of some obscure analogy, why should every other g also pass over into k? Thirdly, this supposition ignores the patent existence of *phonetic causes* for *phonetic change*. So, e. g., the assibilation of a dental before a dental, the accent in Verner's law, etc., etc.

Neither are we likely to be satisfied by a somewhat external comparison recently suggested by Friedrich Müller in the first volume of Techmer's Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Vol. I, p. 213, between phonetic law and fashion.

2. Our judgment as to the intrinsic probability of the theory depends upon the extent and the character of the ground which it would cover in the case of its general acceptance. If it be framed to cover a few paltry cases of limited scope and broken regularity, it falls from its own weakness. If it accounts for just those parts of the language-body and language-history which are most tangible and exposed, and if these form a sufficiently respectable share of the entire mass of the language-facts, this hypothesis, like all other hypotheses, thereby itself becomes a probability. Two facts which show the latter to be true have to be borne in mind here. First, there is no language which can be studied historically or comparatively that does not exhibit phonetic facts of sufficiently wide scope to allow us to apply to them the term phonetic law. Secondly, the more incisive the study of the languages of our and especially also the Shemitic family, the larger becomes the number of these phonetic laws. Only the most extended knowledge of languages ought to endow one with the right to sit in final judgment on this question. For instance, it will be a fact both interesting and new to most readers to hear that correlation of the Lithuanian and Lettish is of such a nature that they can, to a very considerable extent, be transmuted one into the other by the observance of a certain set of phonetic correspondences (cf. Leskien in a paper read before the English Philological Society in 1878, entitled 'Lithuanian, Lettish and Prussian Philology,' page 3 fg.) It is more widely known that the Zend and the Vedic Sanskrit exhibit such regularity in their phonetic correspondences that not infrequently entire passages can be transferred from one to the other by the application of phonetic laws (see Bartholomae, Handbuch der altiranischen Dialecte, preface). It is well known that the phonetic differences between the various Shemitic languages, especially in their consonants, are to a considerable extent lawful and orderly. Indeed, phonetic law is all-prevailing, or at any rate, the facts for which we claim explanation on the basis of phonetic law. On the other hand, it would be impossible to produce any language where the phonetic changes, either within its own special history or when compared with its kin, are exclusively sporadic or arbitrary. Yet nothing would be more natural than just

this state of things, provided that nothing but the semi-conscious
whim of the individual aided by his linguistic pet-vice of laziness
originally lay at the bottom of every phonetic change.   These
considerations invest the hypothesis of phonetic law, though it is
and will probably ever remain a dogma, with a force which is best
exhibited in the fact that it has gained the adherence of a large
and growing proportion of the best linguists.   The burden of
proof now rests upon the shoulders of the sceptics ; it is their
duty to present some acceptable explanation for phenomena like
those classed under Grimm's law, which, when supplemented by
Verner's, works with such regularity that we may pardon the
inordinate enthusiasm which has led certain scholars to speak of
phonetic laws as identical in their effect with laws of nature.
Against such regularity, isolated cases of apparent lawlessness,
drawn from modern cultivated speech, prove nothing.   Modern
speech is cudgelled back from the pathway of its natural develop-
ment by the dictates of an authoritative literature, by acade-
mies, by the stage, etc., with their allies, the grammar and the
dictionary.   To ask the believer in phonetic law to unravel all
phonetic perversities which must arise from the incongruous
mixture is evidently a piece of injustice.   But even here the
absolute equivalence of various forms of the same word is very
doubtful, _e. g._ both pronunciations for _some : sm_ and _sŏm_ can
be heard, but only the most careless observation will pronounce
them original phonetic equivalents.   The person who employs
the reduced form in the sentence 'give me _sm_ beef' will never
say '_sm_ people like beef, others like mutton,' but '_sŏm_ people,'
etc.   In other words, we find a perfectly plausible starting-point
for the two functionally equivalent sound-groups in the varying
demands of sentence accentuation.   To resume then, we have every
reason to see in the scope of phonetic laws and in the unsatisfactor-
iness of all attempts to do without them, a strong proof of their
truth.

3. Prof. Easton's pessimism in the preceding paper reaches its
height when he complains about the work which has been accom-
plished by this doctrine, and when he suggests that we leave our
present strict methods and return to anarchy. He grants that some
small matters, like Verner's law, the laws of palatalization, the laws
of ablaut, the original I. E. variation of vocalism, the existence of
lingual and nasal sonants, have come to light under the rule of this
method.   He might have added dozens of other laws equally

important in principle; he might have shown that new methods, new fields of investigation, have been thrown open in the progress of grammatical research under its auspices (*e. g.* the study of sentence-accent and sentence-euphony, the more systematic study of the laws of analogy, etc.) But he prefers to point out the difficulties. Now difficulties in detail there surely are, but we must be careful to recognize that these are likely to be due to the fragmentariness of the material investigated, and that they do not in any way disprove the efficacy of the new methods as a whole.

It is not difficult to show that it is the efficacy of grammatical investigation, with the aid of this principle, which constitutes its surest hold upon grammatical science. It will be well to dwell upon some single case of primary importance, rather than to attempt to present all its advantages. We will compare the treatment of special new formations in the separate languages as carried on before the definite formulation of this principle, and as carried on to-day. Bopp explains the Latin perfect *monui* as compounded of the root *man* and the root *bhū* (so Comp. Gramm.² §521). Curtius, in the second edition of his Verbum, explains Lat. *viderim* as the result of composition of the root *vid* with the root *as*, or ἴσᾱσι from the same two roots; both scholars offer in support such external combinations as *amātus sum*, or the use of auxiliaries in modern languages. Such explanations represent one of the staple methods of explaining difficult forms employed during a period of about fifty years, and they have been a drag on the legitimate advance of the science perhaps more than any other error within it. As the direct outcome of the concomitant principles of phonetic law and analogy we recognize the following facts which bear upon such cases:

Every indigenous word in any language of our family can be the result of only one of two processes: (1) a direct heritage from the period of parent speech; (2) the result of analogy. The existence of roots in a fluid state in an individual language of our family is altogether preposterous. Forms then like Latin *monui* and *amabo*, Greek ἐλύθην and ἐστάλην, etc., unless it should be possible to trace their antecedents back to the parent speech, which possibility cannot as yet be denied categorically, must be the result of some analogical complication. Explanations, such as is given by Curtius for ἐδόθην, as consisting of the root δω compounded with the root θη, within the individual history of the Greek, are no doubt forever banished from the apparatus of comparative grammar.

The chief factor that acts as an element of uncertainty is found in the subjectiveness of explanations upon the basis of analogy. It is impossible to lay down laws here which shall prevent the unskilful from going astray; here even the deepest students of language must sometimes err. So the analogical explanation of the restoration of the σ in ἔλυσα, criticized in the preceding paper, does not find favor in my eyes any more than in Professor Easton's; the difference lies in the fact that he exaggerates the importance of such a mistake. Possibly the σ in the paradigm of this aorist is only in part due to restoration; it may have been retained in the first person: *ἔλυσμ̣ = ἔλυσα, or in a more primitive form of the second *ἔλυσ(σ), which afterwards changed analogically to ἔλυσας. On the other hand, the objection to Schmidt's phonetic mediation between Lat. *pēs pĕdis* and πούς ποδός is altogether unfounded. Why should not Lat. *pēs pĕdis* be the result of an assimilation from *pōs pēdis?* Are not such processes absolutely proveable? The Latin declines *jecur jecinoris* where *jecinoris* is due to a palpable and evidently less simple assimilation. Sk. *yakṛt : yaknas*, Greek ἧπαρ ἥπατος, Lat. *femur feminis* point to an original declension *jecur *jecinis* as clearly as anything at all is clear in grammatical matters. In the same way the assimilation in the opposite direction which yields Dor. πῶς, gen. ποδός contains an absolutely unobjectionable assumption. The cases in which precisely such assimilations take place in modern languages, where we can start from the terminus a quo and arrive at the terminus ad quem without any suppositions at all, are so numerous that such an explanation is the most plausible imaginable. But if any one's linguistic conscience is oppressed by this or that assumption, let him hold aloof, let him question the individual case. As investigation upon the basis of the principles now current moves on, the liability to error will decrease more and more. The generation of linguists who watch closely the workings of the principle, who will handle diligently and familiarly the numerous clear cases which arise from it, will not fail to acquire that quality of judgment, or better taste or tact, which will teach them to feel more and more correctly when they are face to face with these processes, how they came about, and where the words and conceptions that furnished the impetus for the inorganic changes lie. Very little has as yet been done in the way of classifying analogical processes;[1] yet classification is possible to a considerable extent, and

[1] Cf. Misteli in the 'Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie, Vol. XI, p. 443 fg.

will no doubt do much for the development of that instinct without which one necessarily goes astray. It may be well to point out that the very striking case of *jecur jecinoris* is by no means isolated, but belongs to a very special class among the analogical processes. It might be called syncretic analogy. The form *jecinoris* contains a mixture of *n* and *r*-declensions, arising from the heteroclitic character of the entire paradigm, which was declined heteroclitically before the division of the languages. In the same manner Sk. *karómi* is the result of syncretic analogy, being a precipitate in the classical language of two Vedic presents from the same root, namely, *kdrāmi* and *kṛṇómi*. As another example of a class I will but mention the analogy of opposites; such, *e. g.*, is late Lat. *senexter* for *sinister*, evidently assimilated to *dexter*, or *nocturnus* according to *diur-nus*. The collection and assortment of large masses of such cases will act as a strong regulating element in the future operations with analogy; even now no one can count upon a hearing in explanations by analogy unless they are supported by parallels, and the larger the number of accepted explanations grows, the more rigidly will these be employed as norms for future explanation.

Thus, even this part of the apparatus of the new school is destined to be handled in the future more and more methodically, and it will be not the smallest of the deserts of this school to have led to a careful study of analogy; for certainly whatever views one holds of the nature and growth of language, it is impossible to move any perceptible distance without recognizing the workings of this force. It is futile to point out against all this that such and such a scholar is arbitrary, or contradicts himself in his explanations. This can be granted *a priori*, and simply shows that there is needed in this work a degree of circumspection greater than has fallen to the lot of certain investigators.

In the manner and extent to which the principle of 'phonetic law and analogy' has accomplished work lies its surest hold upon the science. It is not too much to say that if the doctrine of the inviolability of phonetic laws should ultimately turn out to be false, this fact would hardly detract from its value as a method; for there it has approved itself by its fruits.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

IV.—VERBAL PARASYNTHETICS IN -A IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

To the student of Romance morphology, there is a set of new creations belonging to the domain of the verb that must impress him from the start by their peculiar growth, their extensive use, and the almost uniform functions they perform in the Neo-Latin sentence. In the older stages of some of the languages their external development is more varied than in the later speech, and, at the same time, in their internal constitution they represent concrete notions, thus resembling rather the 'bilderreiche' language of the Teutonic idioms than the original types of the Latin. In passing from the class of concrete ideas to that of the abstract, as they generally do in the course of time, they readily change character by giving up their active principle and settling down into absolute neuter significations, or by assuming the double rôle of semi-passives and semi-actives under the reflexive form. We shall see further on that this is no original process of development so far as function is concerned, but rather the continuance of a typical order of things belonging to this same class of verbal notions in other periods of Indo-Germanic speech. For instance, in certain branches of this stock, as the Persian, etc., that stand in close relation to the oldest known members of it, the tendency of causal verbs to lose their force altogether, even with the longer factitive form, which they faithfully keep, is only the breaking through of that principle which asserted itself almost universally in the late analytic state of the group. While in the Sanskrit every verb-root could take on the causal characteristic, and its neuters be thereby converted into actives, we see very early in the history of the verbal idea a distinctly opposite principle manifesting itself, and, in spite of technical grammar-forms, the absolute function is created and maintained in the face of strong tradition. It is my purpose, therefore, to examine here the mode of producing a class of linguistic phenomena well known in their functions to Indo-Germanic speech, but which have deviated, through the influence of analytical tendencies, from the pattern laid down in its early synthetic state.

I shall confine myself principally to the French, and show in a general way only for the other Romance languages, that for this class of grammar elements the same laws were working in them as a group that obtained for the French.

That species of word-creation commonly designated as parasynthetic covers an extensive part of the Romance field, both in its noun and verb-development, and is usually found more abundant in the later than in the earlier periods of these languages. We shall see how, with the strong analytic tendencies of the Neo-Latin idioms, some new form had to be created to supply the demands of expression for the whole category of causal ideas, and that, drawing upon the Folk Latin, they went forward and did this, in accordance with exceptional forms, already existing in the classic speech, where they had doubtless been introduced from a popular source. In examining the means that were adopted by the modern languages to supply this important deficiency in verbal derivatives we fall upon a batch of these parasyntheta that are striking for their originality in formation and often in use. In the conjugation system they are almost the sole receivers and carriers of that active verbal principle called forth by the subject in the object, when to the latter is transmitted the special energy of the verb. They are formed exclusively from the nomen series by adding to it a given verbal characteristic, according as it embodies the substantival or adjectival notion, and, at the same time, by preposing some relational particle with adverbial force to determine more closely the value of the new compound. They represent original factitives, which may also play the part of simple actives or even sink into neuters, and then they are assigned accordingly to one or the other of the two conjugational systems to which they are confined, that is, to the A or I types. Many of them having held the office of pure causals in the older periods of the language, either give up this quality and live on in the later speech as simple actives, or they die out altogether, leaving the impress of their existence upon the construction or upon their substitutes. Of the former we may cite such examples as a-noit-ier, a-rout-er, which are but representatives of a large class of verbs that have been lost in the modern language, and for which the construction has been cumbered with the awkward periphrases, "faire nuit," "se mettre en-route."

But we may reasonably ask what was the necessity of any new creation at all for the modern languages? If the Latin had

managed to hold up and present its causal ideas through the instrumentality of simple or intensive forms, why should not the Neo-Latin idioms have been expected to do the same? They have, in truth, done so in the majority of cases, but these were not sufficiently marked in the differentiation of literary and popular forms to constitute a well-defined class, and hence the need of a set of composita which should stick, as a rule, to this line of thought-representation; furthermore, the tendency of the Latin Folk-speech, particularly, was in this direction. In the classic Latin the distinctive causal form, as such, had disappeared, and even when the tradition had been maintained, it was in sense only, which sense required but little time in many cases to become so dulled as to destroy entirely the factitive energy of the original verb. Witness the Terentian cur simulat? and others, where the transferred, neuter sense, from a causal type, does not render such creations as adsimilare wholly superfluous, in order to preserve the intensive force conveyed in the beginning by the simple verb. In a contribution to Philologus, XXXIV 163, entitled Bemerkungen über das Vulgärlatein, Prof. Woelfflin shows us that such forms as ad-similis, etc. (the opposite of absimilis), are frequent, not only in the archaic and common speech, but also in the classic literature, where they occupy a more extensive territory and have a stronger hold than synonyma produced with the preposition con, for example, consimilis. Now, here we have a conscious effort in the drift towards the levelling process to save the more forcible signification of the original root by stamping it with the distinctive mark of the modern parasynthetic compounds. Add to this tendency that other important element in the production of analytic speech, the disposition to give strength by lengthening the form, and we have both determining cause and purpose sufficient to extend the development of this grammar category. In the latter case, that is, in word-lengthening, moreover, are we to seek the choice of noun-forms rather than verb-roots as the basis for the new products. The passage from the strong to the weak verb-system, often with causal effect, as in colere colare, duere dare, vindicere vindicare, curere curare, no longer belonged among the means of reinforcing the verbal idea, and was, in truth, lost in an early period even of the Latin, so that the modern idioms were obliged to have recourse to other processes to produce the same results. That these were periphrastic accorded perfectly with the general nature of the historic development of these languages.

Again, the support of the causal notion by simple change of conjugation, as clar-are from Old Latin clar·ere, placare from placere, liquare from liqui, falls away in the course of time, and these verbs come to represent pure actives, so that this source of strengthening was also, for the most part, wanting in the later stages of development of the verbal idea.

But even in that branch of the Latin verb where, in addition to internal change, a special form was given it to reinforce the meaning of the primitive, that is, in the derivatives (intensives and frequentatives), we find the line of separation growing faint and indistinct, so that the limits of the different characteristic sets of ideas are not easily definable. In fact, they frequently slide into one another so imperceptibly, as in agitare, " to move strongly," that they cannot be discriminated. These forms advanced still further in the Low Latin towards the final breaking down of their distinctive feature and settled into simple actives, and most of them have continued to serve only in this rôle in the later syntax, both where the primitive has been lost in Latin and where the original type still exists. For example, just as the Latins only knew op-tare and mu-tare (the respective stem-verbs of which were lost), so we of to-day only know meriter, chanter and aider, and never think of attaching to them anything more than a simple transitive signification. These derivatives thus constitute an important class of verbs with lengthened forms, which have lost their special meaning and for which the parasyntheta have been substituted as their legitimate representatives in the modern language, but the function of these new-comers is not confined, by any means, to the mere perpetuation of an intensive sense; on the contrary, they hold the same relation to the absolute verb-type that the Sanskrit special causal did, that is, neuter verbs, by an imitation of this periphrastic process, are turned into actives and primitive significations converted into causal. It is to the 1 and 3 conjugations alone that these analytic products of the modern linguistic workshop are relegated, but not, however, with an indiscriminate hand. The stronger representative of the old Sanskrit causal class has incorporated most of them among its original members, some of which had already lost their primitive estate, while others lived on beside their ancestors of the Latin 2 conjugation, as, for example, sed-are (sed-ēre), clar-are (Old Latin clar-ēre).

This is especially true of the substantival compounds, few of which have survived in the modern 3 conj. class, and those

which have come down to us belong, for the most part, to an early
stage of language, as, for example, a-tenebr-ir, a-vespr-ir, a-mont-
ir, and even some of these fall into both conj.-systems, with a
difference, however, of signification, the active formula sticking to
the 1 conj.-scheme, while the neuter characterizes the 3 conj., as
in a-terr-er, a-terr-ir, a-vespr-er and a-vespr-ir, etc.[1]

If we now enquire as to whether a definite principle has been
followed out in the selection and distribution of these phenomena,
we find that the modern languages have, so far as the 1 conj. is
concerned, followed the Latin type, which, still sensible of a certain
causal force, assigned its parasynthetic creations rather to this than
to other conjugations.   From cor, cordis we have ac-cord-are
formed directly by the soldering together of relational prefix and
verbal characteristic with the noun, and the elements produce
thereby a compound which cannot be mutilated in any of its parts
without destroying the individuality of its complex sense.   The
simple form cordare does not exist in Latin.   This was a favorite
mode of verb-building in the Middle and Low Latin, and we
consequently find the range of such forms very greatly extended,
as the analytic tendencies of the Folk-speech got a strong grasp
on the flexional system of the literary idiom.

In the numerous denominatives of the mother-tongue, such as
nominare, mollire, etc., they had a model which already bore a
factitive sense, and from which it was easy to pass, when the
simple denominative failed them, to a compound form with a
preposition.   This was the easier, too, in that it satisfied the lin-
guistic sense that favored the production of strength by a length-
ening of form, as just noted above.

Huschke, in his Oskische Sprachdenkmäler, p. 305, observes
that since the verb is the life-expression of the substantive in a
greater or less degree according to its subjective or objective
relation, a certain correspondence between the declensions and
conjugations in every language is probable even *a priori*, and
nowhere, perhaps, do we see this probability more strikingly
exemplified than in these factitives of the modern Romance lan-
guages.   The 1 decl. nouns or adjective-nouns settle into their
natural birth in the 1 conj., for instance, witness French: côte
(costa) accost-er, table (tabula) at-tabl-er; Italian: faccia af-fac-
ciare, bocca ab-boccare; Spanish: moneda a-monedar, pedrea a-

[1] Cf. Darmesteter, Formation des mots composés dans la langue française,
pp. 82–3.

pedrear; Portuguese: barba a-barbar; Provençal: flama a-flamar; Wallachian: apa ad-apare; and then, by analogy, take a large number of other declensional forms in tow because of the traditional force of this conjugation in the production of numerous simple denominatives.

If we now turn to the other Romance languages we shall see that, with certain unimportant limitations, the same treatment of this grammar-function is followed out by them as by the French. The Italian, in its creation of simple derivative verbs directly from substantives and adjectives, confines the process almost exclusively to the A-conjugations, as in frutt-are, franc-are, etc., and thus separates itself from the mother-tongue, where all conjugational types took part in the formation of denominatives, although they are more abundant in the A-forms than in the others. We thus have a reduction from three to one principal class for the simple denominative verb in passing from the Latin to the Italian, and this same rule holds good for the French. In the production of its parasyntheta we should naturally expect to find, therefore, a further agreement with the French, in assigning the greater number of these compounds to the first conjugation; in truth, the bias is so marked in this direction that very few verbs are left even here to the I-class, and the feeling with reference to the factitive force of A-verbs is such that, unlike the French, they constantly drag the I-verbs into their domain and cause them, thereby, to lose their neuter condition, and to partake of all the active qualities of their own cast. Thus, avvelenare and avvelenire act the same part in the representation of the verbal idea, irrespective of their difference in conjugational form; so, too, avvilare and avvilire, attristare and attristire. Sometimes the third conjugational type has been kept, but the active power of the first conjugation has been assumed, in playing an entirely independent rôle, without any regard to the general tendency of verbs of this class to pass over into the absolute state, as, for example, in ab-bon-ire, av-verd-ire, which have all the factitive force that originally characterized these parasynthetic combinations. Many of the same roots that have produced dual forms in the French, such as the example above cited, a-terr-er a-terr-ir, have given us only one in the Italian,—the neuter form never having been developed, or having been swallowed up in the active state represented by the first conjugation, *e. g.* at-terr-are. From these few cases it will be clearly seen that the tendency of the Tuscan has been strongly

towards an upholding of the primitive causal signification of its verbal parasyntheta in -a. An extremely small number of them have sunk into neuter significations, and even where they have the form characteristic of the absolute state, in a great many instances they preserve their factitive power and thus become identified in usage with the A-conj. types. But this proneness of the Italian to shut out the neuters from the class of its verbal parasynthetics is pushed one step further in the Spanish, and what was only a pronounced tendency in the sister idioms of France and Italy (more strongly marked in the latter than in the former), becomes here an absolute law; that is, the range of the factitive combination is limited to the A-forms, thus cutting off altogether the special vehicle in which the neuter state was legitimately represented. That this is a direct advance towards that conception of the verbal idea embodied in the early stages of its parasynthetic growth, there can be no doubt, and, for this grammar category, places the language of Cervantes upon a level not yet reached by the idioms just mentioned. To supply the need in Spanish of a neuter signification, these verbs have assumed, in certain circumstances, a double rôle, that is, they have added the absolute condition, to denote, for the most part, transferred meanings, to their original estate, as in a-pedre-ar (active), "to throw stones" (L. lapidare), a-pedre-ar (neuter), "to hail" (L. grandinare), a-hij-ar (active), "to adopt as a son," a-hij-ar (neuter), "to bring forth, or beget young" (L. pullulare). These verbs are common in Spanish, and serve to cover the sphere of verbal expression represented by the dual type in French and Italian. In rare cases they even lose their active power altogether, and substitute for it, in accordance with a procedure common to all the Romance languages, the reciprocal form of the verb when the effect of their operative principle is transferred directly to the object of the action. Thus, a-larg-ar (neuter) = "to let go," a-larg-ar (reciprocal) = "to lengthen," "to increase."

The rule holds good here, however, that the verbal notion should be represented by the inchoative form which denotes a mere state of being, as in a-manec-er, "to begin to dawn," a-blandec-er, "to grow mild," "to settle" (weather). Alongside of the simple A-conj. model, used to mark this species of verbal parasynthetics, we have in Spanish another that must be mentioned in this connection, namely, the use of the present participle, which plays the part of an adjective, for the production of the causal

force, for example, in a-parent-ar, " to cause to appear," a-sentar,
" to cause to be seated." This mode of supplementing the plain
verb-type is of interest, since we again discover in it a tendency
that has become law in another member of the Romance group, to
wit, in the Raetian, where this is almost the only process in vogue to
perpetuate the factitive meaning of the verb by direct and special
creations. Here, too, we have something of a resemblance to the
older stages of the Indo-Germanic languages, where this function
was duly represented by a definite and peculiar form of its own.
The Raetian, just as the Sanskrit with its aya, could thus produce
a causal type from every verb-root that it possessed, and reserving
this special class exclusively for the duties of the causalia, it held
such participial creations strictly apart from the mode of charac-
terizing other offices of the verbum activum.

For the Portuguese the number is reduced to a minimum of
simple A-conj. forms with double meaning, such as a-dent-ar
(active), " to tooth," " to furnish with teeth," and a-dent-ar
(neuter), " to teeth," " to breed teeth." It is here, too, that the
pronominal verbs play an important rôle, in supplying the place
of these neuters, which have an independent existence and conse-
quently their own pattern in certain other Romance languages.
A-pavor-ar (active) carries with it the idea of producing fear in
others, not in the subject, while the same verb, as a pronominal,
expresses the state of being, to be possessed of fear, in which the
subject finds himself. This usage has produced the natural result
of a reduction of other forms to indicate the absolute verbal idea,
and we, therefore, do not find in Portuguese the inchoative types
of the E-conjugation so abundant as in the Spanish, though they
perform precisely the same office in the former as in the latter
language. The participial causals have a more extensive develop-
ment here than we have just seen in its sister idiom of the penin-
sula, as is evidenced by forms like a-vivent-ar, a-fervent-ar, and
many others of similar mould that do not exist in the Spanish at
all. The principle of parasynthesis, as legitimately used to repro-
duce the first conjugational scheme, is more regularly and exten-
sively developed here than in any other one of the Romance
group of languages. Many forms of the French, for example, that
represent the factitive idea by prepositions other than -a in combi-
nation with the noun, as the verb-stem, fall here into the more
definite category of A-types, and thus increase their number over
that of the sister language.

In the Provençal we return again to the dual parasynthesis of the French, that is, we find it covers both the A and I-conjugations. But here, too, the number of the latter has been considerably reduced as compared with its sister of the north, and we have such forms as a-vespr-ar, a-plan-ar, that have supplanted, for both the active and neuter verbs, the regular *ir*-infinitives (a-plan-ir, a-vespr-ir). The tradition, however, is strictly followed in combinations like a-bel-ir, a-fort-ir, where the adjective, for the most part, serves as the base upon which the parasynthetic compound is built.

The nouns, with few exceptions, settle into the more natural patterns of the first conjugation. In this language we, furthermore, find examples of the participial causal (a-sabent-ar), but, just as in French, they have a much more limited range than in the languages of the southwest. The cause of this lies, perhaps, in the fact that the northwestern group of the Romance idioms has kept two conjugational types of the Latin to represent its factitiva, while the southwest confines them to only one scheme, and hence would naturally strive to supply the loss of power caused by lack of variety in form, by multiplying types within its own limited sphere. That the creation of all these types, both nominal and verbal, is due, in the first instance, to the struggle for more strength through increased length of form, there can be no doubt, and the evidence that the participles were used upon this principle is shown by the fact that these forms abound, or become indeed almost the exclusive possessors of the field, just where the common parasyntheta are least numerous, that is, in the Raetian.

We find the relations of the parasynthetic verb-category more unstable in the Wallachian than in any other one of the Romance idioms. The noun or adjective has frequently passed into the parasynthetic state before the characteristic verbal termination has been hung on to it (a procedure that we also find sometimes in the southwest), for example, a-fund-u a-fund-are, a-vent-u a-vent-are, etc. Like the other Romance languages, it assigns the majority, by far, of its parasynthetic products to the first conjugation, but, at the same time, unlike them it seeks to strengthen, further, the combination in the present indicative, present subjunctive and imperative with the common inchoative escu, or the peculiar ezu, ediu, wedged in between the stem and suffix. We thus have a compound process of producing factitiva with one and the same root, which becomes very striking in some cases, when

applied to verbs that are in general use as first conjugational
forms in the other idioms. For example, a-num-esc-u a-num-ire,
ad-umbr-esc-u ad-umbr-ire, and Prof. Gartner, in his Raetoro-
manische Grammatik, cites similar inchoative forms of the first
conjugation for the Ladinian.

In the same way the parasyntheta are strengthened by the
peculiar Roumanian ez, as in a-bon-ez-u a-bon-are, a-fili-ez-u
a-fili-are, etc.

Such simple forms as ad-ap-are, "to water," a-firm-are, etc.,
without any reinforcing element whatever for the indicative mood,
are proportionately much fewer in number here than in the other
Neo-Latin tongues. But these, too, as we have already seen,
sometimes lose their causal force and sink down into pure neuters
with transferred meanings, as, for example, in a-lerg-u a-lerg-are,
" to run."

In the Raetian, as intimated above, it is the participial form that
plays the principle rôle of causal, so that we should naturally
expect to find the number of simple compounds considerably
reduced, and that this is actually the case is manifest from the
limited number of verbs following the type a-proism-êr a-luntan-êr,
etc. All of these verbs belong to the A-conjugation, since the
province of the factitive can be sufficiently well represented by the
longer participial compounds, and in rare cases only have they lost
their active signification.

A few years ago I endeavored to show, in a paper on the Rela-
tion of the modern Indian dialects to the Sanscrit as compared
with the Romance tongues in their relation to the Latin, some of
the more general striking resemblances between the morphologi-
cal phenomena of the Gaurian stock and the Neo-Latin idioms.
I find, by the special investigation here carried out, that the con-
clusions arrived at there are confirmed and given greater scope by
going into the more specific details of the subject. It was found
then that not only the leading characteristics of morphology in the
breaking up of the two synthetic systems of Sanskrit and Latin
are similar, but also that the analogy extends to the phonology
illustrated in the euphonious development of the Sindhī compared
with the Italian.

If we now go back to the earlier members of the Indo-Germanic
group, and to their immediate descendants, and glance at the
history of the development of the causal forms that these Romance
parasyntheta represent, we shall see from the very beginning, so

far as we are able to trace the mode of presentation of this idea, that there is a continual drift towards a weakening, both of the fullness of grammar-forms intended to mark it, and of the energy of expression. The label put upon it in the early flexional growth gradually becomes smaller until, in certain types, it is obliterated altogether, and a new formation springs up to replace it. The old method of wedging in the characteristic sign of the factitive between the root and the verbal suffix seems to have been specially displeasing to more than one set of heirs to the original linguistic patrimony, at least they do all they can to get rid of this part of their inheritance, either by a direct act of violence against the traditions of their household, or by cutting it down till its identity is lost in the more important survivors—root and suffix—that stand on either side of it.

Already in the Sanskrit there was a confusion of form, if not of function, when the so-called 10th-class causals were identical with the active primitive verbs, conjugated like causals, but having no causal signification, and, in truth, it has even been conjectured that "the occasional employment of a causal verb in a transitive rather than a causal sense was the reason for creating a 10th conjugation" at all. In Prâkrit the Sanskrit causal characteristic *ay* has been reduced from the digraph representation to a single sign *e*, for the majority of its verbs. In the Hindī and its sister dialects, this appliance of the sermo nobilis is also cast off and simple *a* assumed, recourse thus being had directly to the Folk speech, the Prâkrit, which had kept alongside of the reduced *e*-sign another means of indicating the causal idea by āpay, ābe, āve. The Sanskrit uses āpay chiefly when the verbal root ends in a long vowel. In Hindī, then, we have the Sanskrit exception becoming general law,—a thing that is constantly the case in the Romance languages, as compared with the Latin, and that occurs mostly in constructions or forms drawn directly from the Folk's Latin. If we take one step farther in the same direction, we shall discover that the Hindostānī, though preserving a touch of the Old Sanskrit traditional form for the causal, pares down its original strength until the majority of its verbs, thus formed, lose their special signification and sink into the category of simple actives. A like phenomenon meets us, though less distinctive in degree, if we pass over to the Persian and compare it with the Zend. Such forms as ازارانيد ن, پلشانيد ن, etc., have lost their force as causals, though still pro-

vided with the characteristic signs that clearly separate them from
the simple type پاشیدن and ازاردن.

Again, if we extend our view from the consideration of this
grammar feature in the pure Prâkrit and Īrānian idioms respec-
tively to the Pạšto, "the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to
the Īrānian family," we are struck by the important fact that the
language has totally abandoned the old causal formation, remnants
of which we have just found in Hindī and Persian, and has adopted
a periphrastic process for the creation of its causals very similar to
what we have in the Neo-Latin tongues, save that the causal
element, instead of being prefixed to the leading verbal notion, is
hung on to it in the same way that the idea of futurity is expressed
in French, Italian, etc. In some of the Romance dialects (Sar-
dinian especially) the method of formation of the future is exactly
similar to that of the causals in Pạšto. By means of the verb کول
= "to make," "to do," they, too, build causals both from neuter
verbs and from nouns, for example, خندل = "laugh," خندول
= "to make laugh," دربل = "to fall," دربول = "to make fall,"
"to pull down," آورهَ = "hearing," آورول = "to cause to
hear." To these we may compare the Latin compound verbs
aedificare and mortificare, the Old and Modern French mortifier.

In the same way a remarkable parallelism is carried out for the
Pạšto system of adjectives, most of which give us verbs with neuter
significations, just as we find in another branch of our Romance
parasynthetics of like origin, for example, تریو = "sour," تریویدل
= "to become sour"; compare Latin amplificare. In this species
of composition the individual parts no longer remain separate in
thought, but are bound together into a whole, the force and
meaning of which would be destroyed if either of the elements
were removed.

From this cursory glance at the earliest tendencies of the causal
idea, towards a reduction of form on the one hand and a waning
of strength on the other, we ought not to be surprised if we should
meet here in the Romance languages,—separated by time and
geographical position from the more direct sources of the language
group to which they belong,—a set of the current even stronger than

the Modern Indian idioms present, towards a leveling of all barriers between the domains of causality and simple activity. Yet this does not follow, at least to the extent which we might naturally expect. That there is a strong undertow in this direction is shown from the fact that a large number of the -*ir*- forms become neuter, so that, as in the example a-bêtir, we have the double signification "to make stupid" (bête) and "to become stupid." But in no case, however, does the shrinking process loosen the grip of 1-conjugational form on the full causal power, as may be seen in a-front-er, al-lait-er, etc. To what influence, then, should we attribute this difference in staking out the domain of these two verbal categories? The Latin denominatives of the 2-conj. (albeo, albere, etc.) offer us models in accordance with which, by analogy, the -*ir*-forms may have passed into the absolute verbal state, but it is the semi-consciousness of causal force attaching to the 1-conj. scheme that has brought the vast majority of parasyntheta from nouns, and an almost equal number from adjectives, into this division of the verb-system.

It would be taking me too far away from the purpose of this paper to enter into the syntax of these parasynthetic compounds. In general we note that they hold here to the traditional verb-history much more closely than in their morphology. Annomination plays an important rôle in their sentence-relation, especially in the first stage of transfer to a simple active signification. They not only take a single cognate object to supplement their meaning, but also a direct one in addition, just as we have in the English "He struck the boy a blow," and thus faithfully represent the Sanskrit double accusative with causals, as tvām bodhayāmi yat te hitam, or the Latin verbs of "asking," "demanding," "teaching," etc., and, as in these cases, too, the first generally presents the personal idea, while the second denotes the thing.

In conclusion, then, as résumé of what we have stated above, we have the following propositions:

1. The Neo-Latin parasyntheta in their origin are independent so far as form is concerned, having, however, models in the Latin literary and especially Folk language that would suggest them, *e. g.* similare, assimilare.

2. They represent a new mode of creating the causal according to analytic processes, a parallel to which we find in languages more directly connected with the original home of Indo-Germanic speech.

3. In their distribution they follow the Latin especially, attaching to the 1-conjugational forms almost throughout a causal force.

4. Their tendency to wear out as causals, and settle into simple active or neuter significations, is exactly the same that we find throughout the history of the causal idea, whether represented by special forms or by simple factitive functions of the original verb.

<div style="text-align: right">A. M. ELLIOTT.</div>

V.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SYRIAC LITERATURE AND CULTURE.[1]

I.

FORMATIVE AND ORIGINAL PERIOD, II–VII CENTURIES.

The Syriac language is of especial importance in the historical development of races, from the position which it took at the time of two great religious revolutions: the conversion of the East to Christianity and the rise of Mohammedanism. In the first case it became the sacred language of the converted Eastern peoples, and in the second it was the means by which Greek culture was communicated to the Arabs, thus powerfully contributing to that brilliant literary development to which Mediaeval Europe was so much indebted.

We find, then, that the use of the Syriac language was by no means confined within the narrow limits of its birth-place and home, that is, Syria and Mesopotamia; and that the most important fact in its history is that it became the organ of Christianity in the Eastern world, as Greek did in the Western. It was exclusively employed by the Christians of Persia, Armenia and Arabia, while Nestorian colonies propagated it in Hindustan and China, and it also spread to Yemen, Abyssinia and Nubia.

In the Persian kingdom, the Aramaean language, being spoken in several of the western provinces, was used officially in conjunction with Parsi; but, on account of the use of Syriac by the Christian missionaries and converts, a reaction of the national spirit in the beginning of the V century induced Bahram V (422–40) to persecute the Christians, and to forbid the use of Syriac together with Parsi at the court and in the schools. This, however, was but a momentary reaction; the Nestorians made every day greater

[1] It is unfortunate that orientalists have not considered that the time has yet arrived to undertake the history of any of the Semitic literatures. For Syriac, an immense amount of material is at hand in the Catalogue and Bib. Orient. of Asseman, and the Catalogue of Prof. Wright. The need of some sketch which should bring out the salient features in the literary history of Syria has occasioned the present article.

progress, and Syriac came to be recognized in Persia as a learned language.

Armenia was still more under the religious influence of Syria; all over the country, convents of Syrian monks were established, and, as the conversion of the Armenians was mainly through Syrians, Syriac long continued to be universally employed as the language of learning and religion. In the time of Mesrob and Moses of Khorene, there arose a reaction in favor of the Greek church and especially of the national language.

This universal use of Syriac was facilitated by the fact that, at an early period, translations were made into Syriac of nearly all the works of the Greek Fathers, who were thus made completely available. These versions, made from the II to the VI century, are generally preserved in MSS several centuries older than the earliest MSS of the Greek texts; so that, as Prof. Wright remarks in the preface to his Catalogue of the Syriac MSS of the British Museum, no critical edition of the Greek Fathers can henceforth be made without due reference to the Syriac versions.

Besides this, many important works, the Greek text of which is lost entirely or in part, have been recovered in their Syriac versions. To illustrate this fact it will be sufficient to mention, among others, Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp, Hippolytus, and the apologies of Melito and Ambrose, etc. All the works of Eusebius of Caesarea were translated into Syriac, perhaps even during the lifetime of the author, for he himself speaks of one of his friends as occupied in translating from Greek into Syriac; several are found in a MS of the year 411, the earliest dated MS known, as the History of the Martyrs of Palestine and the Theophania; the Greek text of these works is, in great part, lost. The same may be said of the Festal Letters of Athanasius, and, in part, of the work against the Manichaeans of Titus of Bostra, both of which are preserved, in Syriac, in the same MS of 411. We possess also Syriac versions of the writings of Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, and many others. It is most probable that all these versions were made by the interpreters from Greek into Syriac, who were regularly attached, from an early date, to the churches of all the cities of Syria. The apocryphal books which circulated in the III and IV centuries were very popular in Syria; and we find Syriac versions of a number the Greek texts of which are lost or incomplete.

The earliest production that we possess in Syriac literature, of

any importance, is the version of the Bible called Peshitta, or the Simple, which, most critics agree, was made during the first part of the II century, and which, from its antiquity and fidelity, is of the greatest value for textual criticism. The question of the priority of the so-called Curetonian Gospels is one which has raised much discussion, but the weight of evidence seems in favor of the Peshitta.

William Cureton has published, in his Ancient Syriac Documents and in his Spicilegium Syriacum, a number of writings belonging to this early period. The most ancient seems to be the letter of Mara, son of Serapion, to his son Serapion, which Ewald assigns to a period shortly posterior to the taking of Jerusalem. Of historical and legendary interest are the Doctrine of Addai[1] and other documents relating to the conversion, early traditions and history of the Church of Edessa.

The noted heretic Bardesanes or Bar-daiṣan of Edessa (b. 155), who flourished at the close of the II century, wrote all his works in Syriac, as we learn from Epiphanius, Eusebius and Theodoret. Moses of Khorene attributes to him a history of Armenia. His Dialogue on Fate is now lost; the dialogue entitled Book on the Laws of Countries, published by Cureton, and for some time attributed to Bardesanes, was probably written by his disciple Philip, and Land[2] has shown that the fragments preserved by Eusebius in his Praep. Evang. must belong to it.

Bardesanes and his son Harmonius composed many hymns, the metre of which was their invention; these became extremely popular and were in universal use in the churches of Edessa, where they were sung during religious service up to the time of S. Ephraem (c. 350), who, on account of their pernicious and antichristian character, labored to replace them by others of his own in the same metre—which was thenceforth known as the metre of S. Ephraem.

Here we must also mention, although its date is uncertain, the lost Annals of Armenia, by Mar Abbas Katina, from which Moses of Khorene in the V century borrowed largely; also the Annals attributed by the same author to Lerubna, probably a disciple of Bardesanes.

At the same time the semi-gnostic Tatian the Assyrian, the disciple of Justin Martyr, wrote in Syriac his Diatessaron or

[1] Phillips, G. The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle. London, 1876.
[2] Anecdota Syriaca, t. I, p. 51.

Harmony of the Four Gospels,[1] which was a work of great importance and widespread influence, as it was used in many parts of Syria in place of the texts of the Gospels themselves. Theodoret tells us[2] that he found in his Syrian diocese more than 200 copies of it which he suppressed as dangerous. We know that S. Ephraem wrote a commentary on the Diatessaron.[3] It is a welcome piece of news that an Arabic translation of the Diatessaron has been unearthed in the Vatican Library, and is in course of publication by P. A. Ciasca.

Mani, the author of Manichaeism, although a Persian, wrote mostly in Syriac; many of his writings, perhaps supposititious, still existed in the East in the X–XI centuries, when Arabian writers, having access to them, were able to transmit to us the most trustworthy account of Mani and his doctrines.[4]

Syriac was thus as early as Mani (end III century) a sacred language in Persia. Later, in the IV century, we find all the Persian bishops writing in Syriac; for example, in the first half of the century Simon Barsabboë, bishop of Seleucia, Milles, bishop of Susa, and above all Jacob Aphraates, the Persian sage, whose discourses, written c. 340,[5] are models of syriac diction. Later works of this Perso-Syrian school are exemplified in the Introduction to Logic of Paul the Persian, dedicated to Chosroes I, and in the numerous writings of the leading men of the schools of Nisibis and Seleucia.

On the other hand, we know that there were relations between

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[1] There has been a confusion made between Tatian and Ambrose, who also wrote a Gospel-Harmony; we find it in Ebed-Yešu op. cit. "Tatian who is Ambrose," etc. The Gospel-Harmony translated into Latin by Victor of Capua, and attributed to Tatian, has been thought by most critics not to be his. The discovery of the Arabic version in the Vatican Library, where it has lain so long—for Asseman speaks of it in his Bib. Or.—will clear up many doubts concerning its form. The text is not yet published, but a preliminary notice has been given by P. A. Ciasca, De Tatiani Diatessaron arabica versione, codicem arabicum vaticanum descripsit locorumque Evangelii in Tatiani opere contentorum seriem exhibuit. Paris, Impr. Nat. 1883. (In T. IV, Analecta S. Spicil. Solem.)

[2] Haeret. fab. I 20.

[3] Bar-Salibi (XII century) is the authority for this statement; cf. Assem. B. O. T. II 159–60.

[4] E. g. Albiruni, Chronology of Ancient Nations, transl. by Sachau, 1879, and An-Nadim, Kitab-al-Fihrist, ed. Flügel, 1871–72.

[5] W. Wright, The Homilies of Aphraates, the Persian Sage, 1868. Cf. Forget, De Vita et Scriptis Aphraatis, 1882.

Syria and India; Bardesanes obtained much information from Indian envoys; the book Kalilah wa Dimnah was translated into Syriac by Bud Perioduta (Περιοδευτής) in the VI century.[1]

The IV century witnessed the blooming of Syrian literature into its golden age; and its great representative is without doubt S. Ephraem, the most prolific and gifted of Syrian writers, whose style became a model for elegance and purity, and who had, more than any other Syrian, a true poetic spirit. His exegetical writings include commentaries on all the books of the Old and New Testament; his numerous hymns are famous; he wrote controversially against all the heresies, excepting his own, then prevalent in Syria, those of Marcion, Bardesanes, Mani, the Montanists, and also against the Jews. Many of his writings are of interest as affording historical matter, like his hymns to the city of Nisibis at the time of the siege of 350 and the Persian war of 359–63.[2] He favored, among the earliest, the study of Greek writers, and especially mentions Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry, Galen and Hippocrates as worthy of particular notice.

Contemporary writers were the Chorepiscopos Mar Balai and Cyrillonas, some of whose fine hymns have been preserved.[3] Gregory of Cyprus was noted for his ascetical writings and his correspondence with Epiphanius. Maruthas, bishop of Tagrit, wrote the Acts of the Martyrs who suffered under kings Sapor II (309–78), Bahram V (420–40) and Jezdegerd II (440–98). These documents were, in part, published by St. Ev. Asseman, but many, as those contained in the MSS of the British Museum, still remain inedited. They are of especial interest for the history of the Eastern Church.

The second light in Syriac literature, after S. Ephraem, is Isaac of Antioch,[4] who flourished from the end of the IV to the middle of the V century. His voluminous writings, all in metrical form, have a bearing, not only on ecclesiastical history and controversy, but on the religion, laws and customs of his age, and on the various invasions of the Persians and Arabs. They have besides the merit

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[1] Two different versions exist in Syriac; one was published by Prof. Bickell, in 1876, and another has just been edited by Prof. W. Wright, of Cambridge.

[2] S. Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena, ed. G. Bickell, 1866.

[3] Cf. Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri aliorumque opera selecta; Bickell, Berichtigungen zu Cyrillonas, 1881 (ZDMG, XXXV 2, 3).

[4] S. Isaaci Antiocheni opera omnia, ed. G. Bickell. T. I and II. Gissae, 1873–77.

of beauty of diction ; Jacob of Edessa (†710), the severest and most
competent judge in the question, as he was the founder of the
school of purists, says the most elegant and admirable of Syrian
writers were Ephraem, Isaac, James of Sarug and Philoxenus of
Mabug.

The important position which Rabulas, bishop of Edessa
(412–435), took in the Nestorian controversy is a matter of history ;
he attempted, without success, to stem the Nestorian tide which
rapidly became so powerful in Edessa, and, among other means
for the furtherance of the orthodox cause, he made and spread a
Syriac version of the writings of the famous Cyrill of Alexandria.
We have also many original writings of his : canons, monastic rules,
letters and homilies.[1]   Of other orthodox writers of the V century
it will be sufficient to name Dadas, Cucitas, noted poets, and
Cosmas, the author of a biography of S. Simon Stylites.   Of
interest for the knowledge of Pre-Justinian law in the East is
the collection entitled " Secular Laws of the Emperors Constantine,
Theodosius and Leo ";[2] probably, as Land conjectures,[3] a compila-
tion of the famous law school of Berytus.

The Nestorian heresy, as we have already remarked, spread
rapidly in Syria before the middle of the V century, and a great
part of the learned and literary men of the school of Edessa
embraced it, and were the agents for the conversion of the Persians
to its doctrines.   The foremost among them were Barṣauma, Narsi,
and Abraham and John of Beth-Rabban ; who, when exiled from
Syria, were made bishops in Persia, and founded there the famous
Nestorian schools, from which went forth the swarms of mission-
aries to found in Hindustan, Tartary, China, Africa and Arabia
colonies which flourished for many centuries, and some even down
to modern times.

Connected with Nestorianism is the change which studies under-
went in Syria during the V century.   The national Eastern spirit
came more and more under the influence of Greek learning ; a
change which widened the scope of Syrian studies and brought
them into connection with the classic world of thought, as they
gradually became acquainted with the entire Greek encyclopaedia.
From this time, Syrian literature ceased to be almost exclusively
religious.   We have already spoken of the numerous versions

[1] Overbeck, Op. cit.
[2] Land, Anecdota Syriaca.   T. I, pp. 30–64 and pp. 128–55.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. ix of introduction.

from the Greek Fathers, made in the preceding centuries; but at this time the Syrians began also to study classic Greek writers, especially the philosophers. It seems to have been the care of the teachers of the academies or schools to make these versions for use in their public teaching. This custom became still more general during the VI century, when Sergius of Ras'ain (c. 530) was especially active in translating Greek philosophical and medical writings. Unfortunately, it is generally impossible to be certain whether the greater part of these versions from the Greek are due to this early school or to the even more flourishing and active one of the VIII–IX centuries.

A version of Aristotle's works was made early in the V century by Ibas, Cumas and Probus,[1] teachers of the school of the Persians at Edessa. The Syrians became and always remained ardent followers of Aristotle, although the Neo-Platonic school also had many followers, and even it may be said that Aristotle's doctrines were viewed by them through the Neo-Platonic lens. Subsequent versions and commentaries of many of Aristotle's works were made by Sergius of Ras'ain and Severus Sabocht.[2] There still remain early versions of many philosophical treatises attributed to Pythagoras, Socrates, Theano, Lucian, Themistius, etc.,[3] as well as of commentaries by Proclus and Porphyry. Among works belonging to other branches of literature we may cite Isocrates' orations, the sayings of Menander, the Geoponicon, two treatises of Plutarch, the works of Hippocrates and Galen.

We have several times had occasion to allude to the schools of Edessa and Nisibis, and in order to give a complete account of the influences which combined to give to Syrian literature its tone and character, it is necessary to answer the query: How was education carried on in Syria? What was the education-system which formed the men who took a prominent part in the literary world?

Education was provided by numerous and flourishing schools or universities, established not only in the large cities of Syria and Mesopotamia, but also in the principal monasteries. It would be superfluous to recall how intimately the establishment of schools was connected with the rise of Christianity, or to mention those of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Rome. To the school of

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[1] 'Ebed Yešu's Catalogue of Syrian Writers ap. Assemani Bib. Or. T. III, p. 85.

[2] Cf. Hoffmann, De Hermeneut. ap. Syros Aristoteleis.

[3] Sachau, Inedita Syriaca, 1870.

Edessa an early origin is also attributed; it is said to have been founded towards the middle of the III century by Macarius, the master of S. Lucian Martyr; this is asserted in the life of the latter contained in Metaphrastes.

It is an interesting fact that Pantaenus, who established the school of Alexandria, came from Syria, and probably from the region of Edessa; and that Lucian, who established the critical school of Antioch and was the master of Arius, was the pupil of Macarius of Edessa. This is but one indication of the great extension of Syrian influence during the early period of Christianity.

S. Ephraem (330-73) first taught in the school of Nisibis at the request of his friend James, the bishop of the city. But on the taking of Nisibis by the Persians he went to Edessa, where he founded a school and soon collected around him a numerous following.

In Syriac MSS of the VI to the VIII centuries there is frequent mention of the schools of Edessa, Nisibis and Seleucia, Dorkenae (founded c. 385), Beth-Nuhadra, Mahuza, Tirhan, Beth'abe, Marga, Cufa, Bagdad, etc. As the Persians and Armenians were in religious dependency on Syria, it is not surprising to find in Edessa a school of the Armenians and a school of the Persians, in which, of course, as in all the other schools, the Syriac language was exclusively employed.

This school of the Persians obtained a world-wide reputation, and contained in its teaching body the ablest of Syrian "litterati." When the Nestorian heresy broke out, the leaders of the school were the strong supporters of Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia and the bitterest opponents of Cyrill. Bishop Rabulas was obliged to expel them from Syria; but, when in 435 Ibas, one of their own party, succeeded Rabulas, they were recalled from Persia. They circulated syriac versions of the writings of Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, to whose authority they appealed. Finally, however, in 489 the Emperor Zeno ordered the school to be destroyed and the teachers expelled. Theodorus Lector remarks correctly, that the school of the Persians was the means for converting the Persian nation to Nestorianism.[1]

Of the exiles some established themselves at Nisibis, others at Seleucia or Modain, in both of which cities they founded schools, the first of which was directed by Narses, and the second by Acacius.

[1] Cf. the Letter of Simon of Betharsam ap. Assemani B. O. T. I, p. 351 foll.

That of Nisibis soon acquired all the celebrity of the mother-estab-lishment at Edessa, and its fame passed even into Africa and Italy.[1] The succession of their rectors and professors through several centuries has been preserved, as well as many details regarding their constitution and development.[2]

The number of students attending the universities was consider-able; thus it is recorded that under Hanan (middle VI century) the attendance at Nisibis amounted to fully 800. Here nothing was taught but theology, while Grandisapur was the great centre for the study of medicine; but, on the other hand, all the branches of study then known were represented at most of the schools; as grammar and rhetoric, dialectics and philosophy, arithmetic and geometry, medicine, astronomy, poetry and music. Practice was often combined with theory; the medical students were allowed to practise in the hospitals, and the church choirs afforded practice in music.

The universities were governed by strict laws issued by the rectors under approval of the religious authorities, which laws the students took their oath not to violate under penalty of excommu-nication. The privileges of the schools were great; they were generally exempted from immediate ecclesiastical control; the scribes, doctors and other teachers (especially in later times) had the right of voting at the Synods, and in the election of Patriarchs, etc., on the same footing as the bishops and priests.[3]

This necessarily brief and incomplete view of the sphere of action of the schools in Syria shows, at least, that they were a most important factor in forming the thought of the age and directing its literary development. We will now return to the subject of Syriac literature at the point where this digression was made.

The VI century was a period of extraordinary literary activity; during its opening years flourished the two writers who complete the quartette of model writers cited by Jacob of Edessa, that is, James of Sarug, bishop of Batnae (†521), and Philoxenus or Xenajas of Mabug or Hierapolis (485–519).

James of Sarug is, next to Ephraem, the most prolific of Syrian writers, although he does not approach him in originality or quality of thought. Besides commentaries, letters and hymns, his metri-

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[1] Asseman B. O. T. III, P. II, p. 927-28, quoting Junilius Africanus (VI cent.) ad Primasium.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 927-29.

[3] For further information on the schools consult Asseman, Bib. Or. T. III, P. II, p. 919-948.

cal homilies, which gave him much fame, amounted to nearly eight hundred. They treat of every imaginable subject and person in the Old and New Testament, and many of them have an independent interest, as in them James of Sarug collected the popular traditions and legends which were current in the first centuries of Christianity.

A contemporary writer is Simon of Betharsam, whose letter on the Himyarite martyrs, published by Prof. Guidi, of Rome, gives valuable historical information regarding the condition, political and religious, of Yemen; of equal, if not greater, importance is his letter on the introduction of Nestorianism into Persia.[1] Joshua, the Stylite of Edessa, wrote a chronicle from the year 495 to 507, which has lately had the honor of two editions, one by the Abbé Martin, and the last and best by Prof. Wright, of Cambridge.

Of greater importance for history and church dogma is Philoxenus of Hierapolis, who was, with Severus of Antioch, the leader of the Monophysite sect. The influence of his writings was very great, for they mostly related to the burning questions of the time. They are also far superior to those of his contemporary, James of Sarug, in conciseness and pointedness of style, qualities to which Syrian writers were unfortunately not much addicted. Under his direction was made the version of the Bible which, from him, is called Philoxenian. Besides Bible-commentaries, sermons, and controversial writings against the Nestorians and Eutychians, he wrote numerous and important letters which show his extensive relations and influence. All his writings, as well as most of those of James of Sarug, remain, with but few exceptions, hidden in the MSS of Rome and London, awaiting some enterprising scholar who shall give them to the public.

We must now speak of the writing of history among the Syrians during the period under review. Edessa is known to have had archives at a very early date, which contained documents recording the noteworthy events of the time relating to Syria. Moses of Khorene consulted these archives, and is constantly referring to early Syrian writings, especially to the Annals of Armenia, by Mar Abbas Katina. Eusebius also speaks of having copied from them the letter of Abgarus. The letter of Abgarus, the doctrine of Addai, and a number of Apocryphal documents—several relating to the early history of the Church of Edessa—were doubtless derived from these archives. The first historical work which

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[1] Published in Assem. Bib. Or. T. I, p. 346.

makes use of some of these documents is the anonymous chronicle of Edessa,[1] written towards the middle of the VI century, in which the events which took place from the foundation of the kingdom of Edessa, B. C. 129, down to the year 540 are carefully chronicled year by year. Much of its information is undoubtedly derived from records contemporary with the events. Thus the account of the great inundation of Edessa in 202 is taken verbatim from the procès-verbal drawn up at the time by the public notaries, Mar Jab bar Shemesh and Kaiuma bar Magartat, whose signatures are attached to it together with those of the archivists Bardin and Bulid, under whom it was deposited in the public archives.

Besides the short chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, written in 507, may be mentioned the ecclesiastical history of Zacharias Rhetor, of Mytilene, in which, although he copies Socrates and Theodoret in the first part, from Theodosius II down to Justinian he brings forward much original matter.[2] To the end of the VI century belongs the history of John of Asia; of the first and second parts only fragments remain, the third and last is published by Cureton. He also wrote a collection of lives of holy Monophysites of this century, which is given in the II volume of Land's Anecdota.

These two histories of Zacharias and John were with Eusebius, Socrates, and the later Dionysius of Tellmahre, the great authorities consulted by Bar'ebraia in writing his chronicle. They will always be great authorities for the history of the East, and especially of the Eastern Church during the V and VI centuries. This is a study which has been too much neglected, and which would certainly yield many interesting discoveries to any scholar who made it a specialty.

We know by name of other historical writings, especially some mentioned by Ebed Yešu in his catalogue of Syrian writers—but they have all been lost. Hardly to be classed with history are the long historical romance of the Emperor Julian,[3] the history of Alexander the Great, and a number of other fictitious narratives.

II.

ARTIFICIAL AND SCIENTIFIC PERIOD, VII–XIII CENTURIES.

We have followed the growth of Syriac literature through the VI century, and have seen how, by coming under the influence of

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[1] It is published in Asseman, B. O. T. I, pp. 387–417.

[2] Land, Anecdota Syriaca, T. III.

[3] Hoffmann has published this text, Julianos der Abtrünnige. Syrische Erzählungen, 1881.

Grecian culture, it acquired increased breadth and value. We now come to the fatal date of the Mohammedan conquest; from that time forward Syrian civilisation lost its autonomy, the literature began to lose its freedom, and its development after a while came to a standstill. This commences the second and artificial period of its existence.

Although authorities differ much regarding the progress of the decay of Syriac as a spoken language in Syria and Mesopotamia, it cannot be doubted that Arabic, the language of the conquerors, began to have a strong influence immediately after the conquest. But as this influence was at first felt in administrative and commercial centres where the invaders settled, the cities alone were for some time infected, and it was strenuously opposed by the clergy. The Mohammedans, however, were far from wishing to impose their language by force; on the contrary, we find that in 853 the Khalif Al Motewakkel published an edict ordering Jews and Christians to teach their children Hebrew and Syriac, and forbidding them the use of Arabic;[1] this would seem to indicate that Arabic had made rapid progress and was in public favor. When Arabic did come into use among Christian Syrians, they generally preserved the Syriac alphabet, and the Arabic written in this way is called Karshuni.

As Arabic was then making insidious inroads, it was felt necessary to guarantee the purity of the Syriac language, both by establishing a standard of taste and by expressing as well as possible by written signs the delicate mechanism of pronunciation, which, before this, was too well known to need expression, and also by crystallizing into a grammatical form the laws of the language. Hence there arose a school of purists, of whom James of Edessa is the great representative. They performed, so to speak, the office of an "Accademia della Crusca," and delivered verdicts on the merits of different writers, and the admissibility of certain forms and words into the canon of the language; in this way the dialect of Edessa became celebrated for its great purity. Hence, also, came the invention of the complicated system of vowel-points, said to have been first employed by James of Edessa towards 700; and later on there came into use among the West-Syrians a system of vowel-signs adapted from the Greek vowels, which Theophilus of Edessa is thought to have used in his translation of Homer. The figure which stands at the head of this scientific period of the

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[1] Quatremère, Memoire sur les Nabathéens, p. 142.

literary development, as Bar'ebraia stands at its close, is James of Edessa.   His wide attainments and thorough education made his influence felt in almost every branch of study.   His commentaries and scholia on the Bible became famous, and his authority in textual criticism great; he distinguished himself by his writings in the walks of philosophy, history, grammar and criticism.[1]

Thus, while on the one hand the genius of the language was altered by Greek influence, on the other, the very mission which the Syrians undertook, from the VIII to the X century, of mediating between the culture of ancient Greece and the Arabs, led them to make of Arabic almost a second mother-tongue, to the detriment of the first.

The VII and VIII centuries were a period of as great activity as any in Syriac literature; one may even say that in extent of learning, in acquaintance with the range of Greek literature, and in the variety of subjects treated it surpassed the preceding centuries.   But, as we have said, there was soon visible a decline in the *idiomatic* beauties of the language, and a great increase in the number of Greek words introduced into it.

The Syrians became divided, as early as the VI century, into two great camps, the Monophysite or Jacobite and the Nestorian. The culture of these two sects was essentially distinct in character, as each had its great centres of education and its system of teaching; the Nestorians were identified with East Syria, the Jacobites with West Syria.   The Nestorians were more cosmopolitan and their influence extended over nearly the whole of Asia; but this influence was mainly religious, and their literature shows very clearly the bent of their studies.   We have a very complete catalogue of it written by Ebed Yešu, of Nisibis, shortly after 1300. Concerning the Jacobites, unfortunately, we have not nearly as much information, still there is enough to show that it was the custom among them to acquire a very general culture.   We have spoken in detail of the importance of considering the schools in order to get a proper understanding of Syrian culture; this is as true during this second period of the literature as it was during the first.   One of the great centres for these schools was Bagdad, where many were founded in the VIII century, and Syrian learning made it its home for nearly three centuries.   These

[1] Cf. an interesting article on his life and writings in Smith's Dictionary of Christ. Biography.

schools were resorted to, not only by Christians from Syria, but very largely by Mohammedans, who did not scruple to sit at the feet of their Christian masters and learn from them the wisdom of the Greeks.

Bagdad was thus made the centre of a great movement which was the most important external factor in the formation of the great Arabian culture. This is a fact too generally known and appreciated to permit us to linger on it, but a few details will not be out of place. In describing the influence which the Syrians, Nestorians, Jacobites and Harranians had over the Arabians, we must first examine in what departments it was active.[1] Of course, we must begin by setting aside everything pertaining to religion, morality and law, to say nothing of poetry, for in these the Arabian genius showed itself entirely original. We find that the principal branches taught by the Syrians were philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, geography and mechanics. In all these branches the Syrians supplied the Arabs with versions of the works of the Greeks on the subject; as in medicine, Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, Rufus; in mathematics, Euclid, Ptolemy, Archimedes, Apollonius of Perga; in astronomy, Ptolemy, the masters of the school of Alexandria, Theodosius Tripolitanus, Autolycus, Aristarchus, etc., also Hipparchus, Hero and a dozen others.[1]

Of the philosophical writings mention has been made already; they included Plato and Aristotle, most of the Peripatetics, Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists. They also had the moral writings of Plutarch, and works attributed to Empedocles and Democritus.

It is doubtful whether Homer was ever rendered into Arabic, but Bar'ebraia tells us that Theophilus of Edessa translated into Syriac both works of Homer on the Trojan war; this, most critics allow, indicates the Iliad and Odyssey.

With the exception of astronomy and astrology, which the school of Harran, the continuator of Chaldaean traditions, took a large share in teaching the Arabs, all the other branches of studies were taught by the Christian Syrians, and principally by the Nestorians, who were in great favor at the court of Bagdad. The original works of this school on scientific subjects have mostly disappeared, owing to the subsequent indifference of Syrians to anything not religious. Hoffman, however, in his Opuscula

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[1] On the subject of translations from the Greek, consult Wenrich, De Auctorum Graecorum versionibus et commentariis Syriacis, Arabicis, etc., 1842.

Nestoriana (Kiel, 1880) has published Naniso'nis Hdhaijabheni et Hunaini Hertheni Liber canonum de aequilitteris; also Abhdiso-'nis Gazarteni Carmen heptas. de aequilitteris.

It was under the Khalif Al Mansur, the real founder of the dynasty of the Abbasidae (754–774), that the patronage of Syrian learning began; in fact, before this the Arabs had not paid any attention to literary pursuits. We learn that the salaries given to these Syrians were very considerable. George bar Bochtješu, the physician of Al Mansur, had an income equal to about a million of francs yearly; this George was the founder of the famous Bocht-ješu family, which continued for many generations his fame for medical learning. We must here mention that the great medical school where all the best masters were trained, including the above-mentioned George, was at Gandisapur in the Persian Empire, where it was founded by the Nestorians in the V century. John bar Mesue was also noted for his versions of Greek medical works under Harun al Rashid and Al Mamun. It was the great care of these liberal patrons of learning to send everywhere in search of the works of Greek literature in order to have them translated.

But the most celebrated of all this crowd of learned Syrians was Honain ben Ishaq, who flourished under Al Motewakkel; he translated into Syriac and Arabic, among others, the writings of Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Galen, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Euclid, Archimedes and Ptolemy. Nor were these always simple versions, for often a commentary was added. Both his son Ishaq ben Honain and his nephew Hobaish followed his example. It would be useless to speak of other almost contemporary writers like Kosta ben Luka, Abu Bashar Mata, Jahja ben Adi, etc., who enjoyed the patronage of the Khalifs, and were at the head of schools.

It is a notion not yet sufficiently refuted that fanaticism was a distinctive trait of the Arab conquerors. The mere facts show the contrary; religious liberty and autonomy were allowed to Christians, as a rule, and an unusual impartiality, one might even say favor, was shown them, especially by the dynasty of the Abbasidae. To them were given posts of the greatest confidence, and they were even appointed governors over cities and provinces.

An anecdote is related by Amru of the Khalif Motaded Billah. One of his principal magnates, Abdalla ibn Soleiman, was accused to the Khalif of favoring the Christians. On his presenting his

answer to this accusation, the Khalif said that, far from thinking the worse of him for this, it was his own opinion that Christians ought to be more trusted than Jews, Mohammedans or Magi; for the Jews were always looking forward to a universal dominion, the Mohammedans would be always trying to oust him from his place, and the Magi bore continually in mind that they were the former lords of the country. Then we have curious accounts of the way in which the Khalifs, as, for example, Harun al Rashid and Al Mamun, would make long visits at different monasteries, and when pleased would confer on them privileges.

The care of the Imperial treasury was also conferred on Christians, and it is a notorious fact that the court physicians at Bagdad were invariably Syrian Christians, the Khalifs thus following the custom of the Persian kings, in whose empire the famous Syrian medical school of Gandisapur was situated.

The noted Syrian physicians, as a rule, were also writers on medicine and translators of Greek medical works into Syriac and thence into Arabic, as those of Hippocrates, Galen, Paul of Ægina, Aaron of Alexandria, etc. Bar'ebraia gives a long list of the most noted of these medical writers from the VI to the X centuries, beginning with Sergius of Ras'ain, who had the reputation among Syrians of being the first who translated Greek philosophical and medical works into Syriac.

It is probable that in the VIII century an important Syrian school for the study of medicine was transferred to Bagdad, where it seems to have held undisputed sway. Thus we find there masters like John bar Mesue and George bar Bochtješu in the VIII century, and the famous Honain ben Ishaq and his nephew Hobaish in the IX century. The physician Romanus became, in 887, Patriarch of Antioch under the name of Theodosius; he wrote a treatise on medicine, an important commentary on pseudo-Hierotheos' mystical work,[1] and made a collection of symbolical sayings derived, in many cases, from Greek sources.[2] He was also a devoted student of philosophy.

Philosophy.

The study of philosophy, which, as we have noted, began in the V century in Syria and increased in the VI, came more and more

[1] Cf. Rosen and Forshall's Catalogus Codd. MSS Orient. in Mus. Brit. P. I, p. 74. I am at present preparing an edition of Hierotheos.

[2] M. H. Zotenberg, Les Sentences Symboliques de Théodose, Patriarche d'Antioche, 1877.

into favor. The most noted philosophers of the Peripatetic school were Severus Sabocht, bishop of Kennesrin, and George, bishop of the Arabs, both of whom had a very wide influence and many pupils.

Severus Sabocht (c. 630) was also distinguished for his writings on astronomical and geographical questions;[1] in MSS of the British Museum we find treatises by him on the Analytica Priora and on the Περὶ ἑρμηνείας. Among his pupils was the Patriarch of the Jacobites, Athanasius II, who made a version of the Isagoge of Porphyry. George, bishop of the Arabs (686–724), wrote the most complete and important commentaries on Aristotle that we have in Syriac; of these we find in a MS of the British Museum those on the ten Categories, the Περὶ ἑρμηνείας and the Analytica Priora.[2] James of Edessa also wrote on the Peripatetic philosophy.

It is known how soon the Arabs became the blind followers of Aristotle, how many remarkable commentators and expositors he found among them, and how his works were brought to the knowledge of the European world by means of versions from the Arabic. Now all these Arabic versions of Aristotle's works were made by Syrian Christians, during the IX and X centuries, from Syriac translations already existing; sometimes even a Syriac translation was first made by the same men, and then from this the Arabic. There was a regular school of these translators, and they were not simply translators, but also commentators. They were in high favor with the Khalifs, and for two centuries directed the studies of the Mohammedan world; afterwards, however, the Arabs surpassed their masters and showed an originality of their own.

Grammar.

The study of grammar began among the Syrians quite early, but seems not to have made much progress for a considerable period. Thus, we know of a number of grammarians of the VI century, but unfortunately their names alone have been preserved to us, like those of Jesudenah, Ahudemeh and Joseph Huzaia, and others mentioned by John bar Zu'bi in the XIII century. The founder of Syriac grammar was Jacob of Edessa (†710),[3] and, as

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[1] Sachau, Inedita Syriaca, 1870.

[2] Cf. Ryssel, Dr. V., Ein Brief Georgs, Bischofs der Araber, an den Presbyter Jesus. Mit einer Einleitung über sein Leben und seine Schriften. Theol. Stud. 1883.

[3] The fragments of his grammar found in a MS of the Brit. Mus. have been edited by Prof. W. Wright, 3 Schriftchen zur Syrischen Literatur.

he was thoroughly imbued with the Greek spirit, he modelled it on the Greek plan and adopted Greek terminology; but even he did not give us a complete grammar.[1] Other grammarians followed, John Estunaia and John Barkamiš. In the XI century, Elias bar Shenaia treated little else beside the letters and vowel-points. Elias of Tirhan's grammar has lately been published by Baethgen (Leipzig, 1880). John bar Zu'bi, about 1200, is the author of the first complete Syriac grammar; he was soon followed by Bar'ebraia, whose complete grammar is unsurpassed by native grammarians.

This second development of grammar was due, without any doubt, to the strong influence of the Arabian grammatical method, which, as early as the second century of the Hegira, had attained to a great degree of perfection.

Lexicography.

Lexicography did not receive as much attention among the Syrians as it did among the Arabs. It arose with the same scientific school of Syrians of the VIII–IX centuries. Then we have the glossaries of Jesu'a Maruzaia and Honain ben Ishaq, from which that of Bar Ali[2] was mainly derived; the latter flourished in the second half of the IX century; in the next century Bar-Bahlul[3] enjoys the fruits of the labors of his predecessors. In these works the Syrian words are explained by their equivalents in Arabic, and there is a considerable and incongruous mixture of Greek words. Their value is especially great for indications of local dialects and the state of the language.

Besides these, and conceived on a different and more orderly plan, is the XI century Thesaurus of Elias bar Shenaia,[4] also a prominent grammarian. There were also other works of even greater importance than these for Syrian lexicography; but some have been lost, and others, still shut up in Eastern convents, remain inaccessible to European scholars.

[1] Consult the Rev. C. J. Ball's able biography of James of Edessa in Smith's Dictionary of Christ. Biography, t. III, pp. 332–5.

[2] The first half of this glossary, from Alaf to Mim, has been edited by G. Hoffmann, Syrisch-Arabische Glossen, 1874.

[3] Gesenius, W. De Bar Alio et Bar Bahlulo, lexicographis Syro-Arab. 1834–39.

[4] A defective edition of this, with Latin translation, was made in 1636 by Thomas à Novaria.

History.

We have previously shown that the first historical works we know of were written in the VI century, and we spoke of Joshua the Stylite, the anonymous Edessa Chronicle, Zacharias, and John of Asia. In this second period, general histories were written by Jacob of Edessa, about 700, and by Dionysius of Tellmahre almost a century later; of the latter a single and very defective MS exists, from which the first half of the work was published.[1] Michael the Great, Jacobite patriarch c. 1100, also wrote an interesting history which has been preserved in an Armenian version. From all these sources, as well as from Eusebius and Sozomen, did the famous Bar'ebraia, in the XIII century, draw the materials for his Chronicon.

It is a curious fact that all the above historical works were written by Monophysites, and this is a sign of the different spirit animating the two great rival sects of the Monophysites and Nestorians. While the followers of Nestorius seem to subordinate everything to the religious element, the Monophysites give greater scope and importance to secular studies; with the former history meant ecclesiastical history; with the latter, more impartiality was shown. Thus, to take only Bar'ebraia as an example, he was an intensely ecclesiastical man, and yet he devoted the whole of the first part of his chronicle to political history. Not so with the Nestorians; if one reads the catalogue of their writers given by Ebed Yešu, Metropolitan of Nisibis, one will notice a swarm of histories which are ecclesiastical, and almost none which are not. Amru in his history states that ecclesiastical history began to be written among the Nestorians at the time of the Patriarch Jesujab of Adjabene, who died A. D. 660. In fact, at this time many ecclesiastical histories were composed by Elias of Maru, Daniel ben Mariam, Rostam, Aphnimaran, Barhadbeshiabba and Mar Atken, surnamed "Who pulls out his beard," probably because his asceticism took that form.[2]

We may well doubt the perfect correctness of this statement of Amru, that no ecclesiastical histories were written among the Nestorians before c. 660, for mention is made of that of Messiah Zacha c. 595, and of others.[3] These works are not known in Europe, but we possess one of great importance in the monastic history of Thomas of Marga (beginning of IX century);[4] he often

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[1] Dionysii Telmahharensis Chronici liber primus, 1850.

[2] Asseman B. O. T. III, P. I, p. 148.   [3] *Ibid.*, p. 216.   [4] *Ibid.*, p. 463–501.

cites a number of the works mentioned above and partly replaces their loss. Asseman made use of it very freely; it will certainly throw much light on the condition and history of Syria during the period following the conquest, about which we are still so much in the dark, and its publication is looked forward to.

It has not been the object of this paper to give a complete enumeration of even the most prominent Syrian writers; thus nothing has been said of Salomon of Bassora, whose "Liber Apis" was published by Schönfelder, or of Chamis bar Kardache and George Varda, both Nestorian writers of authority.[1] Nor has any mention been made of the prominent Jacobites, John of Dara, Moses bar Cepha, and especially Dionysius bar Salibi. But a few words must be said on the most noted of Syrian historians.

Gregory Bar'ebraia, primate of the East (†1286), may be taken as the representative figure of the best phase of the late artificial Syrian development, always under Greek leadership. He did all that a man could do to revive learning and promote the study of the Syriac language; he was equally learned in Syriac, Greek and Arabic. His works may be considered as the *Summa* of the complexity of Syrian learning, as Thomas Aquinas' were the *Summa* of Scholasticism. His comprehensive mind, his indefatigable industry and his thorough acquaintance with the whole field of literature gave him a really encyclopedic knowledge, and enabled him to treat in his works, and to treat well, almost every imaginable subject.[2] He was famous even among the Arabs for his knowledge of history and medicine; a deputation of Arabian savants once waited on him, entreating him to translate into Arabic his famous Chronicle. His longer and shorter Syriac grammars are the most valuable we have. His works on civil and canon law are of the greatest interest. In philosophy he was a thorough Aristotelian, and there is no part of the philosophy of the Stagyrite which he did not illustrate. He was indefatigable in collecting

[1] Several of their hymns are translated in Bagster, Liturgy of the Nestorians.

[2] His writings have received much attention of late, and a number have been printed, as Chronicon Ecclesiasticum, edid. Abbeloos and Lamy, 1872–77. Œuvres Grammaticales, editées par l'abbé Martin, 1872. Ecclesiae Antiochenae Syrorum Nomokanon (ap. Mai, Script. vet. nova coll. T. X, P. II, pp. 1–268). Carmina, Recens. Scebabi, Romae, 1877. Carmen de Divina Sapientia, Romae, 1880. Also his commentaries on S. John (1880), Acts (1880), his Scholia on the 12 Minor Prophets (1882), etc.

For the bibliography of Bar'ebraia, Pick's article on Syriac Literature in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia may be consulted.

for study the writings of past centuries, and would send his agents
throughout Syria in search of them; for example, on the last folio
of the MS of the Book of Hierotheos, in the British Museum, we .
read a note saying that Bar'ebraia desired to have a copy of this
work, and sent his emissaries over the entire East to find it, and
this present copy was finally secured;[1] hence we learn that it was
from this very MS that Bar'ebraia made his compendium of the
Book of Hierotheos, of which we have several copies in Paris,
London and Oxford.

   Although during the century which succeeded Bar'ebraia we
still find a few lonely representatives of the dying Syrian culture,
they are the last sparks of an expiring fire.   Bar'ebraia was the
last of the Syrians.

<div align="right">A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.</div>

  [1] Rosen and Forshall's Catalogue, p. 74, and Wright's Catalogue,T. III, add.
to Rosen and Forshall.

VI.—ON DIRECT SPEECH INTRODUCED BY A CONJUNCTION.

There can hardly be a doubt that in reporting speech or thought, all languages at first made use of the direct method, putting the actual words of the speech or thought after the verb of saying or thinking, without a connecting word ; in other words, the first construction in such sentences was that of parataxis. In most languages, however, we find from the earliest times indirect methods employed as well, methods adapted to the point of view of the narrator, and of these we notice two distinct forms: that of the case of the direct object (accusative) with the infinitive mood, and that of a finite mood introduced by some relative or demonstrative word which has become a conjunction. The former is a Graeco-Latin construction, found nowhere else as a regular and distinct construction; for although we occasionally find the germs of such a use in other languages as well, it has not become fixed there as such, and infinitives of this kind are generally felt as dependent. In Latin this is for the classic period the only form of oratio obliqua. In Greek, which has both forms, it is apparently the older ; with verbs of saying it is in Homer still the prevailing construction. This form of indirect speech is altogether peculiar, as it incorporates into the principal clause, as part of it, the leading verb of the or. obliqua. Thus it removes everything far from its original appearance in or. recta, and is apt to produce, especially if long kept up, a feeling of heaviness which is best observed by reading the long-sustained examples of the Latin, and which is much worse than the natural awkwardness arising from the long-continued use of even the other construction. It could not, therefore, hope eventually to survive. The more accurate use of a conjunction with a finite mood gradually crowded it out in both Greek and Latin, and in their modern descendants it no longer exists.

The latter use is the one generally found. Here a finite mood is introduced by a conjunction which was originally a demonstrative pronoun, as is the case in the Germanic languages, where, however, this demonstrative serves as a relative also, or has become a

relative, or else either by a relative pronoun or a relative adverb of manner. The Greek language possesses both the latter in its use of ὅτι (ὅ) and ὡς. Similarly the Sanskrit uses both yad = ὅ, the relative pronoun, and yathā = ὡς, a relative adverb. Other languages use only the pronoun, as quod in Latin (late), and que in the Romance languages. So the Hebrew uses אֲשֶׁר, its relative pronoun; כִּי was originally a demonstrative in form, but is a relative in its use. Sometimes we find the people using a relative adverb where the literary language does not allow its employment.

If the use of or. obliqua gains the point of giving the speech or thought from the position of the narrator, it also loses much in vividness and accuracy, so that we find the direct method always kept up in all languages, and indeed it becomes almost necessary when the speeches are long or many are to be reported. Now, in spite of the fact that it already had all the forms of indirect narration found anywhere, in addition to the direct, the Greek language added another form of narration to its existing stock, one which is neither direct nor indirect, but mediates between the two, giving the actual words, but having the appearance of hypotaxis in being introduced by the conjunction ὅτι or ὡς. The effect is in the main that of direct quotation, and yet there is a very important difference : the word ὅτι prepares the mind for some speech that is to come, and thus serves, as it were, as spoken quotation marks, just as ἆρα, ἄλλο τι ἤ, etc., show that a question is to follow, and many of the troublesome particles are signs of stress of voice that must be inferred in other languages. Just how soon this use came into the language it is not easy to say. To literature it is not known before Herodotus. We find it in II 115 λόγον ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεόμην . . . ἐγὼ ἄν σε . . . ἐτισάμην, and probably only there in that author, as apparently no other example has been noticeu in his work. The fact that we first meet this use in Herodotus does not by any means prove that it entered the language at that period or but little before that time, for it could have been a construction used by the people long before and yet not have appeared in literature, especially as that literature had been mostly poetical ; nor does the fact that he uses it so little prove anything as to the frequency of its use at that time ; soon after it is met with more frequently, but then the use of prose began to grow more extended, and this construction does not leave the sphere of prose.

In this form of quotation it will at once be evident that where

forms of the third person are employed the use may be either
direct or indirect, *e. g.* λέγει ὅτι ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν may be, he says
that the man is good, or, he says: "the man is good." In most
of these cases, however, it would seem that even when the con-
struction was quite well known the feeling must have been that of
indirect quotation, as the latter was very much more common and
almost necessarily the one to come up in the mind first. We can,
therefore, never speak with certainty of a quotation with ὅτι as
direct which contains only forms of the third person, unless some
interjection or particle is used which could not remain in oratio
obliqua. Sentences containing forms of the first or second person,
it will be seen at once, may or may not be quotations according
to the conditions of the case. As to the range and even the
frequency of this construction, most grammars leave us at least
partly in doubt: the number of examples given by them varies
between two and twelve, and all are taken from Thucydides,
Xenophon, Plato, and Herodotus. The first three are exceptional
writers and the last is Ionic.

The first fact we notice in connection with this use is that it is
limited to prose; if any examples could be found in poetry they
would surely be sporadic. In prose, however, we find it in history,
in philosophy and in oratory; in other words, in prose of every
kind, without occurring very frequently anywhere. I myself have
observed especially the use in the Attic orators except Hyperides
and the fragments. Only such cases, of course, were noticed as
cannot be indirect. Of the orators, Antiphon the first, Isaeus and
Lycurgus show no examples; Andocides, however, the second in
the canon, follows Antiphon with four, and all in his great speech
on the mysteries: I 49, 63, 120, 135. This is relatively a large
number, and as we have the word of Dionysius of Halicarnassus
that Andocides represents the language of the gentleman of the
period, we may infer that the use was even then at least familiar in
ordinary conversation. Lysias has but one case, that, however,
in familiar language: I 26, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι οὐκ ἐγώ σε ἀποκτενῶ κτέ.
Isocrates too shows one example in 12, 215. In Aeschines we ob-
serve five, 1, 147; 2, 28, 50; 3, 22, 120. It is in Demosthenes,
naturally, that we find most, and they occur mostly in the public
speeches. We find examples in Or. 7, 8, 18, 19, 21, 23, 47, 49, 50,
59. This might at first seem to show that it was not a construc-
tion of familiar language, as we should expect it oftener in direct
quotations occurring in the private speeches. But it would be

unfair to judge so, for a number do occur in easy familiar talk, as
47, 57 ἀπαγορευούσης τῆς γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ λεγούσης ὅτι αὐτῆς
εἴη ἐν τῇ προικὶ τετιμημένα καὶ ὅτι· τὰ πρόβατα ἔχετε πεντήκοντα καὶ τὸν παῖδα
κτέ. and again there may not be so great a need for its use in these
speeches.   The examples I have noticed are 7, 20; 8, 31; 18, 40,
174; 19, 22, 40, 242, 253; 21, 200 (49 and 103 look very much
like direct, but can be indirect as well); 23, 106; 47, 57; 49, 63;
50, 49; 59, 110; 19, 168 is proved to be a case by the use of the
conjunction ἀλλά: οὔτε κατειπεῖν τούτων εἶχε καλῶς οὔτε εἰπεῖν ὅτι "ἀλλ'
ἔχουσιν ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα."[1]

For this construction we have seen ὅτι is prevalently the con-
junction used, so much so that the use of ὡς has altogether escaped
some grammarians; of all those I noticed, Kühner alone adds the
words (selten ὡς), while Krüger in a rather dogmatic way adds
'nie ὡς,' but even Kühner gives no examples, unless we take the
change of construction in Anab. 1. 3, 16 ἐνδεικνὺς ὡς εὐηθὲς εἴη ἡγεμόνα
αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν, where the feeling is quite
different from that of direct introduction by the conjunction.   The
word ὡς does, indeed, rarely introduce direct discourse; there are
in the orators two cases in Dinarchus, and, which is a matter of
some interest, the only two in that author, and one probable case
in Demosthenes.   Those in Dinarchus are 1, 12 χρήσεται λόγοις
ἐξαπατῶν ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐγὼ Θηβαίους ὑμῖν ἐποίησα συμμάχους, and 1, 102 ἐνταῦθα
φήσετ' εἶναι δεινοὶ εἰ παρακρούσεσθε τούτους λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἔξω τῆς
πατρίδος ἡμῖν ἐξελθεῖν, and Dem. 21, 151 ἐπὶ ταῦτα δ' ἀπήντων ὡς ἥλωκεν
ἤδη καὶ κατεψήφισται· τίνος τιμήσειν . . . προσδοκᾷς.   The third ex-
ample is not certain, as it may very easily be, and possibly is to
be regarded as a change of construction.   Besides these cases I
have observed ὡς so used once in Plut. Them. c. ii εἰώθει λέγειν ὡς
οὐδὲν ἔσῃ ὦ παῖ σὺ μικρόν . . . κτέ.   It may occur more frequently in
later Greek.

Of other writers, ὅτι is used in this way by Plato not unfrequently
in his dialogues, so in Protag. 317 E, 339 B, 346 C, 361 A; Symp.
172 C, 189 A, 190 C; Phaedr. 268 A; Crito 50 C, etc.   Ast gives
those underlined and also the cases Gorg. 521 A, Crat. 431 A,
where no verb is used and the construction is just as likely to be
regarded as indirect.   Ast adds the words sesc. al. to his list, but

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[1] In 49, 37 we have a case of change from indirect to direct, but differing from
47, 57 in not having ὅτι repeated before the direct speech, so that it does not
fall under the head we are now treating, as the feeling is very different, and the
construction is very different from immediate introduction by ὅτι.

if he means a very large number by that, a close count will, I am
sure, convince one that he is wrong. Xenophon, too, uses it
comparatively speaking frequently, as in Anab. 1. 6, 8 ; 2. 4, 16 ;
5. 4, 10 ; 7. 2, 13 ; Hell. 1. 5, 6 ; 3. 3, 7, etc. ; Cyr. 3. 1, 8 (4. 2, 18
and 3, 20 not certain) ; 7. 3, 1, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ὦ δέσποτα οὐ ζῇ is
explained by some as a causal use of ὅτι, but it seems more natural
to refer it to the use we are now considering. Thucydides uses it
a few times, 1. 137, 4 ; 5. 10, 5 and 8. 53, 3, and this, probably, is
the extent of the use in that strange writer. 1. 139, 3, λεγόντων ἄλλο
μὲν οὐδὲν . . . αὐτὰ δὲ τάδε ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι βούλονται τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι, εἴη
δ' ἂν εἰ ἀφεῖτε, may be direct, or an example of change from indirect
to direct. Aristophanes does not use the construction, unless we
class as such the two cases :

Eq. 337 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ταύτῃ γ' ὑπείκῃ λέγ' ὅτι κἀκ πονηρῶν.
Plut. 1001-2 . . . εἶπεν ἀποπέμπων ὅτι
πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι,

of which the former is evidently indirect with verb omitted, the
latter must remain doubtful and is probably indirect. Later we
find the construction still used, *e. g.* in the narrative parts of the
N. T., as Matth. 4, 6 ; Mark 5, 35 ; Luke 4, 21 ; 8, 49 ; John 10,
36 ; Acts 23, 20 ; 25, 8, et al.

In reporting speech, and even thought, the Eastern languages
always show a decided preference for the more accurate and, at
the same time, life-like way of parataxis, *i. e.* for the use of direct
speech. Especially is this true of Skt., where such speech or
thought is marked generally at the end by the word *iti.* This
little word even points to the actual words of a thought without
having the verb of thinking itself expressed. In view of this
fondness for the more vivid method of direct narration, it is not
to be wondered at that the language not only very largely avoided
the indirect construction, but even kept the direct speech even
when the signs of indirect discourse were there. Both *yathā* and
yad are used in this way, though *yathā*, unlike the Greek ὡς, is
used as often as, it seems, nay even oftener than *yad.*

Unlike the Greek, too, the Skt. proves by the use of *iti*, which
always points to the actual words of a speech or thought, that
quotations may be unquestionably direct even there where the
direct and indirect forms agree. Where *iti* is not used we may be
in doubt, and yet there is good reason to believe M. Williams, in
his dictionary, when he calls all such examples direct, *e. g.* jnāyate
yathā rājā tat kariṣyati, 'it is known that the king will do this.'

If we take the Greek: γνώριμόν ἐστιν ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο ποιήσει, no one will question the fact that this is indirect, as in Greek the construction is limited to verbs of saying, and hardly any would be in doubt about λέγει ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο ποιήσει; in Skt., on the other hand, owing to the tendency to use or. recta, we may always believe the reverse. In this point this language presents a marked difference from the Greek. Just how frequently *yathā* or *yad* introduces oratio recta marked by *iti* I am not able to say; it is certainly not an isolated phenomenon, and yet there was no need for its frequent use, as the language could do as well with *iti* alone, and in the great majority of cases it is satisfied with the latter. By the use of both the conjunction and the word *iti* at the end Skt. marks the speech at both ends, where the Greek only shows at the beginning by ὅτι that a speech is to follow. Hebrew also presents a similar phenomenon with אֲשֶׁר and כִּי, but its use does not appear to be very extensive.

In Europe it would seem the Greek stands alone. Latin tried it, so, too, Gothic (cf. Mark 5, 35 et al.), but these are evident imitations; there seems to have been no independent growth or even generally adopted use of this construction in either of these or in any of the Romance or Germanic languages (cf. Diez, Gr. der Rom. Spr., Vol. III, p. 334 note). True we have apparent examples, as French 'que oui,' 'que non,' after verbs of saying, which cannot so well be explained as indirect as Greek ὅτι οὔ, but such cases do make it a French construction.

On the whole, the construction is not a very widely spread one, appearing to some extent in Asia, and in Europe, in that most versatile of all languages, the Greek. The latter limits the use to verbs of saying, using it in a few cases with such verbs as γράφειν, δηλοῦν, etc., as Dem. 19, 40 γράψας ἐπιστολὴν ὅτι; the Skt. extends it with perfect freedom by the use of the word *iti* to verbs of mental action as well. Nowhere is it largely used. There seems to be no reason for doubting that it grew up on Greek soil. How soon it first appeared is a difficult question to answer. It does not occur in Homer or any of the elegiac, lyric and iambic poets of the 7th and 6th centuries, and yet, as once said, it is not safe to draw conclusions too certainly from such facts, the construction may have remained below the surface in poetic literature during this time, though used in conversation. That it was conversational is evident, and yet Aristophanes does not use it; this, however, only proves, if anything, that its use was not very frequent. It

can hardly be said to have been in its infancy in Herodotus, or else it grew very rapidly, for it is used soon after by Thucydides, Andocides, Lysias and Plato with apparent ease. It is more likely one of the productions of the centuries preceding this period, when the language was putting forth every effort, making every experiment for the accurate and nice expression of thought.

EDWARD H. SPIEKER.

NOTES.

In Dr. Fitzedward Hall's elaborate article on the origin of "Had Rather Go" (American Journal of Philology, October, 1881), it is remarked in the notes that accompany page 305, "*Rathe*, as a literary word, was falling into desuetude, when Milton sang of ' the *rathe* primrose '; and it was the same with *rather* and *rathest*, in all their acceptations specified in the text. This being the case, the subjoined quotations are not without interest." Then follow several illustrative quotations from authors of the first half of the XVII century—James Hayward, *The Banished Virgin*, 1635; William Vaughan, *Directions for Health*, 1633; Bishop Sanderson's Works, 1647. To the quotations produced by Dr. Hall in this connection, I desire to add the following from Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England*, Vol. I, page 118, edition of P. Austin Nuttall, LL.D.: Thomas Tegg, London, 1840: "We ape the French chiefly in two particulars: First, in their language. . . . . Secondly, in their habits, accounting all our fineness in conformity to the French fashion, though following it at greater distance than the field-pease in the country the *rath*-ripe pease in the garden." Fuller died in August, 1661; his "History of the Worthies of England" was published in 1662. He had been engaged in the preparation of the work for many years before his death, having been closely occupied in making collections and gathering materials while serving the Royal army, in the capacity of chaplain, during the great civil war. The first volume of his "Worthies," from which this extract is taken, was probably written between 1640–50.

I desire to add to examples already cited of the separation of the *To* from the infinitive by a word or words, the following illustrations taken from "A Sermon Against Miracle Plays," preached probably during the latter part of the XIV century, that is, during the age of Wickliffe and Chaucer. See Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben*, Part II, pages 224–242. Page 225, "To *better* please God." Page 232, "For to *worthily* take the sacrament of

matrimony." Page 233, " To *more ardently* worchen grettere werkis." Page 239, " To *more gredily* bygilen ther neghbors in byinge and in sellyng."

In Prof. A. M. Elliott's suggestive and instructive article upon the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua (Johns Hopkins University Circulars, April, 1884, pages 74-75), there is an explanation of the origin of *x*, "as the notation of an unknown quantity," with which the following brief extract from Hallam's " Introduction to the Literatuie of Europe," Vol. I, page 136 : Harper Bros., 1842, may be profitably compared : "The known number is called *n°* or *numero* ; *co* or *cosa* stands for the unknown quantity ; whence algebra was sometimes called the *cossic* art."

H. E. Shepherd.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Erster Jahrgang. Heft 2.

Attention has already been called, in a previous number of the Journal, to this new undertaking. The second part confirms fully the belief there expressed in the value of the work for all Latin scholars. The first article, "Zu den lateinischen Kausalpartikeln," by the editor, Professor Wölfflin, contains many interesting facts in regard to the use of *ob* and *propter* and other words denoting cause. *Ob* is found in Tacitus 166 times, *propter* (aside from Dial. 21) occurs in the historical works but once (Hist. 1, 65), and *propterea* not at all. So, too, Ammianus Marcellinus, an imitator, though not a very skilful one, of Tacitus, uses *propter* but once, and that in *qua propter*, while of *ob* there are some 80 instances. Florus uses *propter* but once, *ob* 12 times, both with substantives and demonstrative pronouns. In Sulpicius Severus, Chron. 2, 30, 8, *propter* occurs, following the Vulgate, elsewhere *ob* is used, but in his other writings the reverse relation obtains, *ob* being used but 6 times, and *propter* 12 times, so that *ob* seems especially to mark the historical style. So Julius Valerius does not use *propter*, but has *ob* 6 times. Dares has 6 cases of *ob*, and only once *qua propter*. It seems hardly probable that Tacitus should have been the first to show this decided preference for *ob*. The same tendency appears in Pomponius, Mela and Velleius. In the inscriptions of the republican period, causal *propter* occurs but once, in the phrase *propterea quod*, while *ob* is found 24 times. Something may be due to the endeavor to avoid collision between causal and local *propter*, for of *propter*, with local force, Tacitus makes frequent use, often putting it after its noun. Curtius avoids both *propter* and *ob* in local relations, while Cicero uses *propter* in both senses. On the other hand, some writers sedulously avoid the use of *ob* in causal sense, *e. g.* Cornificius has only once *quas ob res* (for the classical *quam ob rem*), but frequently *propter*. Caesar uses *ob eam rem, ob eas res, ob eam causam*, but, aside from such formal phrases, he distinctly prefers *propter*. Palladius has *propter* 25 times, *ob* not at all. Juvenal has *propter* 18 times, *ob* but once. *Propter* occurs in the Vulgate between 600 and 700 times; *ob*, exclusive of formal phrases like *quam ob rem*, only 20 times.

Among the writers using freely both *propter* and *ob* is Plautus, who, however, in speaking of persons usually employs *propter* (never, *e. g., ob me*), *ob filiam*, Epid. 701, being an exception, while *ob praereptam mulierem* may be explained as equalling *ob praereptionem mulieris*. *Ob id*, which is just beginning to appear in Plautus alongside of *ob eam rem*, attains a wider use in Livy and Tacitus, and especially in Pliny the elder. Seneca and Suetonius prefer *ob hoc* to *ob id*, while Cicero and Caesar avoid both *ob ea* and *ob id*. *Quas ob res, quas ob causas*, like the Greek διὰ ταῦτα, occur in vulgar style, often where but one reason is

mentioned. On the other hand, Terence says *multae sunt causae quam ob rem cupio*, which shows clearly that *quam ob rem* was already felt as a compound. The use of *ob* with a substantive and passive participle, of which Cato furnishes us an early example in the phrase *ob rem gestam*, is especially cultivated by Livy. Thereby the coining of new verbals in -*io* is avoided. Draeger's statement (II² 852) in regard to the use of *ob* with the gerundive needs correcting. The construction is archaic, hence Gellius, 3, 3, 14, has *ob quaerendum victum*. *Propter* is not substituted in such phrases until the silver age. Some interesting facts are given in regard to the use of *gratia* and *causa* with the genitive, *causa* here being the older. This is very clearly seen in Cornificius, who uses *causa* thus 40 times, *gratia* not even once. Caesar uses *causa* 150 times, and *gratia* but twice. Cicero, for the sake of variety, uses *gratia*, but *causa* much more frequently. Nevertheless, *gratia*, in early poets, is by no means rare. In Plautus it often retains a shade of its original force, like the Greek χάριν, hence the frequent combinations, *mea, tua, nostra, senis gratia*. While we find both *honoris gratia* and *honoris causa, amoris gratia* and *amoris causa*, in the phrase *animi causa, gratia* never takes the place of *causa*. Tertullian attempted to draw distinctions between *gratia* and *causa*, confining *causa*, for the most part, to personal relations. He uses *mei causa*, and it is worthy of remark that Plautus, Most. 580, has already *causa tui*. *Gratia* with the genitive of a *gerund* followed by the accusative is rare and archaic. *Merito, beneficio* and *ergo* are briefly discussed, while the consideration of the use of *quia, quod, quoniam* is deferred as a special theme by itself.

In a note on p. 176, Carl Weyman shows that *modulabilis* occurs in Paulinus Nolanus, Carm. 27, 79. In a notice of the first number of the Archiv we have shown that it occurs also in the Scholia Bernensia. It cannot, therefore, be excluded from the Lexica.

The next article, pp. 177–94, by H. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, is a thorough treatment of the Latin suffix -*anus*, which, we are told, is a specimen of the dictionary of Latin suffixes now in preparation. *Ānus*, it is claimed, is a secondary suffix, developed on Latin soil; -*nus* being added originally to stems of the first declension, and afterwards the ending -*ānus* was abstracted and applied to stems of other declensions, very much as *incapabilis* is formed after the analogy of *amabilis*. So in Latin, although Plautus has already *urbanus*, we must start from adjectives like *Albanus*. The formation of such adjectives from names of persons (like *Cleopatranus*) is not as common, and seems rather to have been avoided in the classical period. Adjectives from appellatives like *octavanus, decimanus, Aurelianus* are formed from feminine adjectives with the ellipsis of nouns like *legio, pars, tribus*, etc. Most cognomina of victorious generals were formed in -*icus*, as *Asiaticus, Creticus*, but for **Africicus* there was no analogy, and, as it would have become **Africus*, it became necessary to coin *Africanus*. A long list of adjectives in -*anus* from proper names in -*us* and -*ius*, and from common nouns in -*us* and -*um*, is given. Less numerous, naturally, are the cases where -*anus* is added to third-declension stems. None are formed from stems of the 4th declension, and very few from stems of the 5th, as *meridianus. Levana, Praestana, Tutanus* and *Voranus* receive a special treatment. *Praestana* is referred back to an original **Praestitana; Levana, Tutana* and *Vorana* to the hypothetical forms **levus, *tutus, *vorus*, which have the force of present participles, cf. *carnivorus*.

The ending *-ianus* is due to a false separation of stem and suffix. *Caesarianus* was possible neither for Cicero nor Caesar. Nor would Cicero have used *Ciceronianus*, but *Caesarianus* occurs in Hirtius, bell. Alex. 59, along with *Pompeianus*, which may have had some influence. The authors of the bel. Afric. and bel. Hispan. use it however, as does Nepos. Even Cicero, in Ad. Att. 16, 11. 8, allows *Lepidianus* to slip from his pen, and after him the distinction between *-anus* and *-ianus* ceased to be sharply felt. This is shown in such formations as *Crassianus*, *Catullianus*. In fact *-ianus* increases even at the expense of *-anus*. Adjectives which must have taken their rise in the vulgar idiom, as *Aquilonianus, castrensianus,* have apparently the same meanings as their primitives, while *Germanicianus* and *Brittanicianus* take on a different sense. The same ending, applied to adjectives, may be witnessed in the Romance languages, cf. *mezzano, certano, tardano, provano.* From Greek words in ίτης, Latinized adjectives are formed in great numbers, like *Abderitanus.* Hence, a suffix *-itanus* was abstracted, and, by false analogy, adjectives formed like *Salernitanus, transtigritanus.* The article closes with an attempt to define the province of the suffix.

In a note, Havet defends the forms *puellarius* and *puerarius* on evidence taken from glossaries and from Petronius, c. 43, and assigns to *patella*, in the passage cited by Nonius from Varro's Eumenides:

Patella esurienti posita provocat Neapolitanas piscinas,

the meaning of shell-fish = Fr. *patelle.*

Stowasser, pp. 195–203, goes carefully over the evidence as to the genitive sing. of *a*-stems in Lucilius, and comes to these conclusions: There are 21 certain cases of the genitive in *ae*. For a diphthongal pronunciation of *ai* there is no warrant. It rests wholly upon Müller's erroneous interpretation of the grammarians. In iambics and trochaics, the forms in *āī* are entirely avoided, and there are not, altogether, more than 3 or 4 cases of *āī*, two of which are at the end of a verse. This result agrees with Engelbrecht's observation that Plautus used the forms in *ai*, while Terence regarded them as antiquated. Lucretius used them for metrical reasons or to give archaic coloring.

For *sanitas valetudo*, in Augustin. civ. D. I², p. 29, 28 (Domb.), Hoffmann would read *sanevaletudo* and enrich our Lexica with this new word. G. Gröber discusses, in the next paper (pp. 204–54), a very fascinating theme, " Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Worte." The problem is given us to find, by a comparison of the Romance languages, the vulgar Latin forms from which the Romance words are derived. Here a careful distinction must be made between words which have come into the Romance languages by direct inheritance (*Erbwörter*), and those borrowed from the Latin at a later period of literary cultivation. The vulgar Latin itself is not sufficiently well known to us through its monuments, and the *Erbwörter* even in their earliest form, as we find them in writings of the 9th century, are often much changed from the original vulgar Latin form, so that this has to be established by a process of comparison. Such a comparison Diez had already begun, but a systematic attempt to arrive at the vulgar Latin form of all Romance words has not yet been made. The investigation must go hand in hand with studies in the

Latin itself. The various Romance dialects protect us, to a certain extent, against erroneous inferences. And here it is of great importance to determine approximately the date of the splitting up of the vulgar Latin into dialects. After the reduction of Italy and Sicily, Roman conquest took a western course, embracing Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, then turned to the northwest (Gaul), and finally to the northeast (Raetia and Dacia); certain phonetic phenomena seem to run parallel to this course of conquest, from west to east. Sardinia has the most archaisms, *e. g.*, *k* before *e* and *i*, accented *i* and *u*, final *s* and *t*, in declension and conjugation, etc. Moreover, the West Romance languages favor the consonantal close, the East Romance the vowel close. Some consonant groups, like *ct, cs, cl*, experience an entirely different treatment in the east and west. The most completely developed and furthest removed from the Latin is the vulgar idiom of Italy itself. Less developed is the Romansch and Raetoromance, and still less the dialects of Gaul and Spain, and nearest to the archaic and written Latin is the Sardinian.

The following data are useful for determining the chronology. The agreement of (*a*) Sard., (*b*) Span., (*c*) Port., (*d*) Catal., (*e*) Prov., (*f*) French, (*g*) Raetorom., (*h*) Romansch, minus (*i*) Ital., proves the existence of a form until after 100 A. D. The agreement of *abcdef* minus *ghi* proves its existence until after the Gallic conquest. An agreement between Spanish and Sardinian vouches for the existence of a form only down to 200 B. C. Where Italian and Latin agree, there was no difference between the literary and the vulgar form. This comparison is like the comparison of MSS of a different age, and the results reached are still more certain. *E. g.* the absence of final *m* in all the Romance languages, of *h* initial and interior, the loss of *n* before *s*, found in Sardinia (*isposo = sponsum*), of *v* in the perfect, point to the disappearance of these sounds before 240 B. C., a result confirmed by inscriptions. The existence of *au* in several of the Romance languages does not favor the supposition that *au* was ordinarily pronounced *o*, although *o* may have served as an inexact expression of the sound. Prothetic *i*, as in Sard. *isposo*, must have found its way very early into the vulgar speech. Gröber lays down the following propositions. I. Where Romance = vulgar Latin = Latin. (1) In vulgar Latin of every period, Lat. ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, ă, ĕ, ŏ, before one or more consonants, had the same sound as in the literary language. (2) *au* continued to exist in vulgar Latin. (3) The Ital. *l r, m n, s f v, p b, t d, q c g* before *a o u*, correspond to the same sounds in Latin. Hence the sounds were the same in vulgar Latin. (4) Gemination in Italian, corresponding to gemination of consonants in Lat., proves that both consonants were heard in vulgar Latin. The French confirms this by its different treatment of *tel* from *talem*, and *val* from *vallem*, *main* from *manum*, *an* from *annum*, etc. (5) The existence of a guttural sound in *x* can be traced through the Romance languages back to the first century after Christ, and the oldest evidence for *cs = s* is found in an inscription of the second century. (6) The *j* (= Eng. *y*) found in Sard., Sicil., Neap., proves this sound for vulgar Latin. Sibilation did not take place till late under the empire.

II. Where the Romance = vulgar Latin, but differs from Latin, in the following respects. (1) The loss of *h*, of final *m*, of *n* before *s*. (2) the use of forms with prothetic *s*. (3) the change of *ae* to ę̄ and of *oe* to ę̄. (3) the coalescence of accented vowels with following *i* or *u* to diphthongs. (4) the

change to *j* of *i* or *e* in unaccented endings, or before a vowel bearing the accent (*faciamus*). In the Romance languages, either assimilation to preceding consonant or some palatal sound results, cf. Sard. *fizu = filium*, It. *facciamo = faciamus*, *debba = debeat*, etc. (6) The lengthening of short accented vowels before single consonants, although this admits of a different explanation. (7) The omission of *u, i, e* in the penultimate of proparoxytones, as shown in the *poplum, tableis*, etc., of inscriptions, so *soldus, caldus*, etc. (8) The shifting of the accent from the antepenult to penult and vice versa in special cases, *e. g.* Sard. *lentólu* = Lat. *linteolum*, Sard. *intréu*, Span. *entéro* = Lat. *integrum*. (9) In the case of *ch, ph, th*, only the mute obtains recognition in the vulgar Latin and Romance, cf. Ital. *braccio*, Span. *brazo*. (10) Changes in the guttural series cannot be brought under rules. Loss of medial *g*, as in Sard. *vinti*, Fr. *vingt*, can only be proved for Romance, and how far the sound of *c, g* before *e* and *i* varied from that before *a, o* and *u* cannot be proved, as the Sardinian preserves the hard sound, while elsewhere *c, g* before *e, i* pass into sibilants. In word-formation (11) *-arius* replaced by *-erius*, *-tulus* by *-culus*, *ītus, -tus, -sus* by *-utus*, cf. It. *tenuto* for *tentus*, not found in Sardinian. (12) The preference for the inchoative formation in certain Romance dialects and in vulgar Latin. (13) The strengthening of the demonstrative pronoun by *ecce* and *eccum*. (14) The coincidence in form, in the Romance languages, of the imperfect indicative of verbs of the 2–4 conjugation. This would seem to prove the existence, in early Latin, of a class of imperfects like *florē-am* from *floreo*, *finīam* from *finio* (cf. *eram*), while in the first conjugation, as *amāas* would have been contracted into *amās*, the form in *-bam* held its own, and in the literary language prevailed also in the other conjugations.

The article closes with an alphabetical list (*abbreviare—būttis*) of vulgar Latin words deduced from the Romance languages. This list contains much that is suggestive, and is to be continued.

Under the title " Kirchengeschichtliche Anecdota und ihr sprachlicher Wert," pp. 255–66, Phil. Weber discusses many peculiarities of ecclesiastical Latin. We may notice the form *illum* as neuter, *veteras, frigores* after the analogy of *calores*, the superlative *scelerentissimus* to be compared with *pientis-simus*, found in inscriptions.

Fr. Vogel, who is about to make a new edition of Ennodius, points out some of the features of that author's style (Ennodiana, pp. 267–71), and shows how he was unable to fully emancipate himself from the faults of his time. *Accidere* and *accedere* have become one word and both make the perfect *accessi*, *subripui* acts as perfect of *subripere* and *subrepere*, *onus* is confused with *honorem*. Some 21 new words are given.

The rest of the number is given up to Miscellen, and closes with an appreciative notice of the lamented Gustav Löwe, by his colleague, Ivo Bruns.

<div align="right">M. WARREN.</div>

Observations sur Thucydide I xi. Par M. W. HUMPHREYS (Mélanges Graux).

Prof. M. W. Humphreys has contributed to the Mélanges Graux an article in which he undertakes to demonstrate that in Thuc. I 11, 1. 4, we should read ἐκρατήθησαν for ἐκράτησαν, which the editions exhibit. The suggestion was made long ago by Thiersch. No exception can be taken to the statement

made by Prof. Humphreys of the proposition which Thucydides is endeavoring to prove; viz. "que les ressources des Grecs dans ces temps reculés étaient très limitées, et que c'était la seule cause pourquoi ils n'ont pas réussi à triompher des Troyens dans un bref délai." It was not, Thuc. says, want of population, but want of capital (ἀχρηματία) which made the Greeks convey to Troy so comparatively small a force. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ τόν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δῆλον δέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο), φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ λῃστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ. ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῶες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀντεῖχον βίᾳ, τοῖς ἀεὶ ὑπολειπομένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὄντες. περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ λῃστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἷλον, οἵ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ ἀεὶ παρόντι ἀντεῖχον, πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονί τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἷλον.

Prof. Humphreys assumes in his first section that the battle spoken of in l. 3, whether successful or unsuccessful, must have taken place after the Greek forces had been divided, part having been already dispatched to secure provisions for the rest: "il ne faut pas oublier que Thucydide veut dire que les forces grecques étaient divisées *avant* le premier engagement." The reason alleged for this assumption is that the contrary supposition would be inconsistent with the proper interpretation of the words in l. 8, ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κτέ., the proof of which is to be given further on. When we look to see what this is, we are told that ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἷλον "indique une prise d'assaut, ou bien une prise soudaine à force armée," and that this interpretation needs no proof unless Krüger is right—"lorsqu'il présume que μάχῃ κρατοῦντες a rapport à μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν du §1." In his note on these last words Kr. uses them as an argument to prove "dass nicht etwa vorher ἐκρατήθησαν zu lesen sei," and, indeed, one does not see on what grounds Thuc. could have assumed that the collective Greeks were incontestably more than a match for the Trojans, if their superiority had not been put beyond dispute by at least one victory. But it seems that Prof. Humphreys is wrong in interpreting Krüger's meaning: "si μάχῃ κρατοῦντες indique une victoire gagnée de prime abord, ces mots doivent signifier ceci: 'puisque ils gagnèrent une victoire' [*même avec des forces divisées*]." These last words, which are printed just as Prof. H. has them, are, it is needless to say, not supported by anything in Kr. If they be inserted, then it is indeed correct to say, as he proceeds, "Mais si tel était le sens, ce membre de phrase, οἵ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ ἀεὶ παρατυχόντι [Krüger's conjecture for the MSS παρόντι] ἀντεῖχον, serait tout à fait superflu et absurde." But it is evident that Kr. does not regard κρατοῦντες as used for κρατήσαντες, but only as inclusive of the first victory and other subsequent victories which would have ensued if the Greek forces had been kept together. For he renders κρατοῦντες "als Sieger," referring to his grammar, §53. 1. 3, where κρατῶ is classed with φεύγω, νικῶ, ἡττῶμαι, ἀδικῶ as having "neben ihrer eigentlichen eine Art von Perfect-Bedeutung," and an example from Xenophon is quoted, τἀγαθὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἐστίν. And there is nothing in Kr. to justify the words *au contraire* in the following: "si, au contraire, nous mettons μάχῃ κρατοῦντες en rapprochement avec εἷλον, et si nous en faisons

une partie de l'apodosis avec ἄν,"—for there can be no doubt that Kr. would make the same connection, since no one could possibly take κρατοῦντες as a part of the protasis, which is περιουσίαν δὲ . . . διέφερον.

So far as appears, then, the assumption with which Prof. Humphreys begins his argument is a purely gratuitous one, which certainly finds no direct support in the words of Thucydides, and is not established by anything which is subsequently alleged in the article. But is it *a priori* probable that the Greeks would have wished, or would have been able if they had wished, to send out, after arriving at the Troad, parties to cultivate the Chersonesus or to forage for provisions, before the Trojans attempted by a battle to prevent them from landing and securing a position on the coast ?[1] Prof. Humphreys goes on to say that a fortification is more needed by a beaten than by a victorious army ; and that the Greeks would certainly have constructed one before fighting, if they felt bound to construct one in case they gained a victory. Thuc., he says, could not have inferred that a battle was fought before the fortification was made, unless he had supposed that the Trojans must have attacked the Greeks before they had time to fortify themselves after their landing, or unless he accepted as incontestable the assertion of Homer that the Trojans tried to hinder the disembarkation of the Greeks. It is true that this is implied in Il. B 701 (of Protesilaos): τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ | νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺ πρώτιστον Ἀχαιῶν. But as this statement is " noyé dans le catalogue des vaisseaux, et à peine mentionné dans deux ou trois autres passages" [O 705, Π 286, N 681], and Thuc. nowhere asserts that he accepts all Homer's details (" il n'avoue pas accepter les détails fournis par Homère "), Prof. H. thinks that Thuc. would not have *tacitly* accepted it as in accordance with the fact. It is, of course, true that Thuc. nowhere binds himself to admit all that Homer asserts ; but, on the other hand, he nowhere discredits him further than by such an expression as εἰ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι, c. 9. 3 (cf. c. 3. 2). Why should he be assumed without evidence in this case to reject Homer's testimony, when the fact is antecedently so exceedingly probable? And the fact that τὸ ἔρυμα is here spoken of as constructed at the beginning of the war does not justify us in saying that "sans discussion il ramène la construction de retranchements, de la dixième année, au commencement de la guerre"; for Thuc. is here following some other authority than 'our Homer' (as Goeller, Poppo, Classen, Boehme, and van Herwerden assert, therein following the scholiast); and as he must have done also in saying that the Greeks πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπέσθαι, for this is not mentioned in our existing poem. This theory is too lightly dismissed with the words "il n'est pas nécessaire de discuter cette question."

Prof. H. goes on to say that the active ἐκράτησαν implies that a beaten army could not remain long enough in the neighborhood of the field of battle to fortify itself; but that this is not the case, and that Thuc. himself gives us

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[1] What was probably the real state of the case is well expressed by Goeller, in opposition to the conjecture of Thiersch : "adde quod vulgaris fama fuit, Graecos non post appulsas naves cum Troianis primum pugnasse, sed appellendarum navium causa, id quod Troiani impedire volebant. In quo conatu appellendi si Graeci victi essent, futurum erat, non tantum ut castra non munirent, sed ut ne appellerent quidem, siquidem sponte intelligitur sic futurum fuisse, ut in naves reiicerentur."

instances to the contrary. There may, no doubt, be cases in which an army entrenches itself after a defeat; but it is to be regretted that Prof. H. has not been careful to give us the references here; the only passage he adduces (V 73) does not seem to bear on the question; and the opinion of Thucydides himself may be inferred from the words he places in the mouth of Nikias, in his speech before the Sicilian expedition, VI 23, 2. Nikias does not represent that the business of securing its position may be safely postponed by an invading army till a defeat has been incurred, but he insists that πρέπει τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἂν κατάσχωσιν εὐθὺς κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς.

Prof. H. next insists on the "expression énergique οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα." The word ἐνταῦθα refers not only to the arrival (ἀφικόμενοι), but also to its result, the assumed victory. "Nous avons donc, ici, un énoncé étonnant: '*pas même dans ces circonstances* ils ne se sont servis de la totalité de leur armée'; c'est-à-dire que *pas même une victoire* ne les a induits à se servir de toute l'armée en campagne! C'est précisément une victoire qui aurait rendu *moins* nécessaire la réquisition de toute l'armée. Pourquoi donc cet οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα?" But is it certain that this is a correct account of the matter? The reasoning seems rather to be as follows: the Greeks came to the Troad, and fought a successful battle. Now if they had brought with them adequate supplies, so that they could have kept together the army, which was proved, by this first engagement, to be more than a match for the Trojans, they might have followed up their success and taken the city. But, notwithstanding this first and promising victory, their supplies were so far from sufficient that they were unable (οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα) to maintain a united force, but were compelled to detach portions of their troops for purposes of plunder and tillage, and thus to reduce their numbers so far that the Trojans were able to stand their ground against τοῖς ἀεὶ ὑπολειπομένοις. If they had *lost* a battle, would their supplies have been any more adequate, would they have been any less under the necessity of sending out foraging parties, than if they had won it? Unless indeed we suppose that in the assumed defeat the Greeks lost so heavily that they had, say, only half the number of mouths to fill. The words ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν . . . ἀπορίᾳ, l. 4, would seem to one who was not θέσιν διαφυλάττων to imply that it was only *after* the battle that parties were dispatched to secure provisions; but Prof. H. will not hear of this: "il faut remarquer ici que le membre de phrase ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν . . . ἀπορίᾳ n'indique pas que l'armée n'ait pas été divisée avant ce moment: il est ajouté par manière d'éclaircissement ou d'exemple. Des fourageurs avaient dû certainement piller d'abord la Troade et les contrées environnantes, et c'est ce qu'ils ont fait selon le récit d'Homère." If the last words mean that Homer tells us that parties of Greeks were sent out on forage *before any battle had been fought*, it would be interesting to have the references.

The consequences which would have resulted if the forces of the Greeks could have been kept together are expressed by Thuc. in the two sentences, l. 8 ῥᾳδίως ἂν κτέ., and l. 9 πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν κτέ. Prof. H. renders the former: "ils auraient aisément gagné une victoire et pris la ville [si les Troyens leur avaient livré bataille en rase campagne];" the latter: "et même en cas qu'un siége eût été nécessaire [c'est-à-dire, les Troyens refusant un engagement en plein champ], ils auraient encore pris Troie avec moins de difficulté et en moins de temps que les dix années qui furent rendues nécessaires pour en

effectuer la prise." It is clear that Prof. H. regards a successful battle in the field and a regularly formed blockade as alternative or parallel means of taking Troy. In this Prof. Jowett agrees with him, saying "the two suppositions are really alternatives, but the writer prefers to put them in a conjunctive rather than in a disjunctive form." This would seem to be a very arbitrary way of writing, and does not appear to present the real state of the case; and even if we admitted that such was the relation of the two clauses, would δέ be the proper conjunction to attach the second member to the first? Prof. Humphreys implies, by the parenthetical clauses he inserts, that, if the Greek army had held together, the only chance for an ἀνάβλησις κακῶν for the Trojans lay in their refusing a pitched battle. But they surely might have suffered a defeat in the field, and then have defended themselves behind their walls. The clause in l. 9 πολιορκία δ' ἂν κτέ. is used rather to express the second stage in the success which would have attended the Greek force, if it could have been kept together. The Greeks, in that case, would have not only proved superior (εἷλον) in the field as they were at first, but also would have formed a regular siege and captured the city with much less trouble and time than were actually needed. It is true that to bring this sense out with perfect clearness it would seem natural to insert μέν after ῥᾳδίως. There are, however, a good many places where μέν might be expected but is not found. In c. 12, l. 7, τὴν μὲν νῦν Βοιωτίαν, the μέν is inserted by Bekker, Classen, Stahl and Shilleto on the authority of inferior MSS, but is left out by Poppo, Boehme, and van Herwerden. In c. 19, l. 2; c. 56, l. 6; iv. 7, l. 2, expressions occur, in which what is opposed to a following δέ-clause is not marked by μέν. The difficulty occasioned by the repetition of εἷλον is not really surmounted by Prof. Humphreys' version. If we do not resort to the violent remedy adopted by Stahl and van Herwerden and omit the former εἷλον, we may, with Herbst, Philol. XVI 288, supply with it the object τοὺς Τρῶας, 'would have defeated the Trojans'; or, perhaps better, regard it as used intransitively, 'have proved superior,' after the analogy of ὁ λόγος αἱρεῖ.[1]

It will, I think, be admitted that Prof. H. has not shown that the reading he defends has such incontestable merits as to justify its admission into the text against the authority of all MSS, though it may be true that for it "au point de vue paléographique, ou plutôt diplomatique, il n'est pas besoin d'apologie." Though it was proposed in the early part of the century by Thiersch,[2] it has been accepted by no one of the editors; neither Goeller, nor Bekker, nor Poppo, nor Arnold, nor Classen, nor Boehme, nor Shilleto, nor Stahl, nor van Herwerden has admitted it into his text. The only scholar of note who has defended it, so far as I know, is Cobet, who, in his review of Herwerden's edition in Mnem. VIII 69, says that H. ought to have admitted Thiersch's

[1] I suggest this mode of explanation with much diffidence. If any one will read the passage over, inserting a μέν after ῥᾳδίως, I think he will perceive that a good sense is obtained. On the other hand, if the former εἷλον is omitted, the δέ seems to me to present a formidable difficulty, whether with Stahl the apodosis is made to begin at πολιορκία δέ or with van Herwerden at ῥᾳδίως.

[2] I have not been able to see the paper in which Thiersch made this suggestion; but Goeller quotes what is probably its most material part: "Victores si Graeci extiterant, non opus habebant castra munire. Contra si victi essent, illis munimentis opus erat." Against this reasoning Goeller argues at great length.

conjecture. van Herwerden is sufficiently inclined to accept Cobet's sugges-
tions, as is shown by nearly every page of his edition; but in this case he has
not been convinced. For in Mnem. XI 59, in an article entitled ' Paralipomena
Thucydidea,' he calls attention to many oversights and errors which he now
detects in his edition, but he passes over without notice the advice of his master
in this particular. And yet there is one respect—not insisted upon, however,
by Prof. Humphreys—in which the reading ἐκρατήθησαν would have a great
advantage over the active form; for the active requires us to render οὐκ ἂν
ἐτειχίσαντο *munire non potuissent*, instead of *non muhivissent.* Mehlhorn
pointed out (in Jahrb. IX 403) this difficulty, and proposed a way of his own [1]
to get rid of it. The renderings given in the notes rather evade than surmount
it; for example, this of Shilleto's: "'it is obvious they did win the battle, for
else they would not have,' etc., *i. e.* without a victory they would not have been
in a position to intrench themselves behind a rampart"; or this of Krüger's:
" *sie hätten das Lager nicht befestigt*, wären daran gehindert worden." How-
ever, it must be recognized that ἂν can be used with the past tenses in Greek
where, as Aken, T. u. M. §72, expresses it, "keine Nichtwirklichkeit, sondern
nur eine Möglichkeit der Vergangenheit, ausgesprochen ist," even in cases
where the subject is perfectly definite. As an example not quoted by him or
by Bäumlein, Modi, p. 148, may be cited Dem. 9, 13: εἶτ' οἴεσθ' αὐτόν, οἳ
ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν
αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον κτέ., where ἐποίησαν ἂν must be rendered 'could have done.'
Compare also Thuc. VI 2, 4.

<div align="right">C. D. MORRIS.</div>

TWO PAPERS BY KARL BRUGMANN.

These two papers are reprints from the Transactions of the Saxon Academy.
They were read by Leskien for K. Brugmann in 1883. They treat of several
interesting matters, of which only one can be here spoken of in detail. The
first and longest is on the Gr. ἄρα, ἄρ, ῥα, and the ostensible purpose of the
essay is to show that the Greek particles are identical in function and probably
in origin with the Lithuanian *ir*. A very clear scheme of the uses of these
particles is given, and ample citations are made from Greek and Lithuanian,
which seem to show a correspondence in use so remarkable that it is strange
that a suggestion of their kinship should not have been made before, which, it
may be inferred from Brugmann's language, has not been done. In cases like
ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας, and τοῖοι ἄρα Τρώων ἡγήτορες ἦντ' ἐπὶ πύργῳ, where Brugmann
represents that the particle adds on no new thought, but merely shows that what
has been detailed before is repeated in brief, he knows only one similar instance
of the employment of *ir*, but this, he says, is unmistakable. The development
of the uses of ἄρα does not differ essentially from that elaborated by Heller in
Philol. XIII and Nägelsbach, and in regard to the origin of the particles Br.
adheres to their old connection with the root of ἀραρίσκω. As to their phonetic
connection, Br. manifests a truly scientific resolution to advance not one step
beyond what facts warrant. Though all the examples cited have shown that
ἄρα, ἄρ, ῥα are absolutely destitute of functional difference, it must not be

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[1] He says that the parenthesis has relation not to what precedes, but to what follows, under-
standing εἰ ἐχρήσαντο πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει. This view, however, has been abundantly refuted.

assumed without proof that ἄρ is a shortened form of ἄρα: and though it is conceivable that ἄρ' before vowels might give rise to ἄρ before consonants, still we must remember that the crystallized forms γάρ and αὐτάρ are of very high antiquity. Similarly that ῥα has arisen on Greek ground from ἄρα is not capable of proof; for the former is always enclitic, and the throwing off of initial ά is not consonant with Greek euphonic laws.

The next essay is on the use of Sanscr. purā̆ and Greek πάρος with the present indicative. In the I. E. languages the present tense is employed to express not only facts present at the time of the speaker, but also facts which may be past or future, or may occur at any time. This wide use of this tense is quite primitive. The historical present does not arise from the speaker's bringing for lively effect a past event into his own time; rather in his interest in the fact he loses sight of the interval of time which separates him from the event, and sees it in progress before him; and accordingly this use depends on the essential timelessness of the tense. It was only in comparatively late times that it was consciously employed as a rhetorical means of emphatic expression. So the use of the present for the future is not due to a lively anticipation of a certain future event, but, a point of future time being defined by some other word or phrase in the sentence, the present expresses what is contemporaneous with that; or in oracular statements the future is seen as actually present to the speaker. The high antiquity of the timeless use of the present is seen in the fact that we find πάρος in Greek and purā̆ in Sanscr. used with a present, where we might expect the imperfect; and therefore these particles fulfil the same functions as the augment. This use must not be explained as if it were in fact a result of *breviloquentia ;* as if, that is, πάρος ζαχρηεῖς τελέθουσι were a compression of πάρος ζαχρηεῖς ἐτέλεθον καὶ νῦν τελέθουσι. The fact that Homer nowhere uses the histor. pres., or the present for the past, except in connection with such a particle, is due to the Greek epic style, which forbade a narrator to pass out of the proper limits of the time; and by the addition of πάρος the essentially timeless present loses its character and is placed in the proper relation to the narrator. In four of the Vedic passages cited *sma* is added to *purā.* It is probable that, the use of the two particles together being frequent, gradually *sma* came to be used alone with the same effect, just as in French *pas, point, plus,* can now in certain conditions stand for *ne-pas,* etc.

The next paper is on the so-called Relative time-grade. This is mainly a polemic against G. Mahlow, who in Kuhn's Zeitschrift 26 has constructed for the primitive speech a table of 16 tenses, different in form and meaning, of which several express not absolute time, but time past or future relatively to the time of the speaker. Br. thinks that this is all groundless hypothesis; that the only language of our family which has synthetic forms to express relative time is the Latin in its pluperfect and future perfect tenses, and that these were developed by the Latin after its isolation ; and that this development was due to the assumption into the sphere of the Latin perfect of the *s*-aorist forms like *dixi,* of which, since they were felt to be real preterites, the past in *eram* would naturally come to represent a pre-past action.

The last discussion in these papers is on the prepositions ἐνί, ἐν, εἰς. The question was asked long ago why the Greeks did not, like the Romans, con-

tent themselves with one preposition to express both *in* and *into*. And inscriptions show that about half of the Greek dialects know only ἐν used with both cases, as Pindar often has ἐν with the acc. Did then these dialects originally possess both εἰς and ἐν and afterward give up the former? This is the opinion of Ahrens, Kuhn, and G. Meyer, who think that ἐν with the acc. is really an ἐνς which has lost its ς. But such a loss of ς is against the phonetic laws of these dialects, and one can see no reason why, if they ever had it, they should not have kept it as the others did. The opposite opinion of Matthäi, E. G. Schmidt, and Meister, that ἐνς is the ground-form not only of εἰς with the acc. but of ἐν with the dat. is equally unsatisfactory. For one cannot understand why, for instance, in Attic out of an assumed ἐνς ἱερῷ an εἰς ἱερῷ could not have come, as out of ἐνς ἱερόν did come εἰς ἱερόν. All that remains for us is to assume with Pott that originally ἐν like Latin *in* was used with both cases, and that ἐνς was a special innovation on Greek ground adopted in some dialects to express *into*. For outside of Greek there is no trace of a form answering to ἐνς alongside of ἐν. Nor are there any traces that the dialects which used εἰς ever had an ἐν meaning *into*. For the suggestion of Silberstein that such phrases as ἐμβαίνειν εἰς ναῦν contain such an indication is of no weight; for they arise rather by mixture of ἐμβαίνειν νηί with εἰσβαίνειν εἰς ναῦν, the relation between the locative or the locative with ἐν and the acc. of aim with εἰς being as close as in the German *sich auf einer Bank setzen* and *sich auf eine Bank setzen*. Before proceeding to explain the origin of the ς it is worth while to examine the forms which ἐνς took. No doubt ἐνς was the original, which we have evidence existed in the Cretan and Argive dialects. From this came by so-called compensatory change εἰς. It is assumed that ἐς also came from ἐνς, but as yet no account of the process has been given. The two forms εἰς and ἐς exist side by side both in inscriptions and in the authors; and since ἐς is quite frequent in Homer and εἰς occurs in the latest period of Attic, it cannot be inferred that ἐς is a development of εἰς in the same way as ἐτέλεσα is of ἐτέλεσσα or τίθησι of τίθητι: for then the later form would have crowded out the parent one. The forms are rather sisters; and the distinction may have arisen from the use of ἐνς=εἰς before vowels (as εἰς αὐτούς), and of ἐνς=ἐς before explosive consonants and spirants (as ἐς τούτους), just as κεστός comes from κενστός, and σύστασις from σύνστασις. This difference of function, however, was not maintained, and one or the other prevailed in accordance with taste or fashion; though in some consecrated phrases ἐς was invariably used, as ἐς κόρακας, ἐς μακαρίαν, etc.

To come now to the form ἐνς, may we, as many do, regard it as a development of ἐνί, constructing for this purpose an original ἐνις? This assumption is based on the belief, held by Curtius and Christ, that ἐν is shortened from ἐνί. But of this there is no probability. Only εἰν and εἰνί are legitimate outgrowths of ἐνί, resulting from the semi-consonant character of ι, just as the form ὑπείρ comes from ὑπεργ corresponding to the Sanscr. upáry before vowels. By no phonetic law can ἐν be derived from ἐνί, for the assumed readiness of final ι to drop off has no existence, and all supposed instances of it are to be otherwise explained. We must assume then that ἐνί and ἐν are proethnic sisters, corresponding one to the Indian *áni-ka-*, *ni-ni*, the other to the Latin *in*, which means *in* and *into* and shows no traces of loss of *i*.

What then is the origin of the ς in ἐνς? There are two views. 1. That of Bopp, Pott, Benfey, and Grassmann that ς is to be identified with the σε of πόσε, ἄλλοσε, etc. This would answer excellently for the meaning; but the loss of the final ε is inexplicable. 2. The view more generally prevalent now, though Br. does not know who first suggested it, that the ς is the same as the final sound in ἐξ, ἀψ, Lat. *ex, abs, cis.* But here comes the question why ἐν should take this ς only in the sense of *into*, particularly as it is most probable that it is the same as the gen.-abl. suffix of several declensions in Sanscrit. This suffix would be well adapted to reinforce the inherent meaning of ἐκ and *ab,* just as in German *aus* is reinforced by *fort* or *weg;* and besides it gives an ablative meaning to words which by themselves have no such sense; as Sans. *ni* ' in ' is made into *nis* ' from within,' and the Latin *sus* in *susque deque, suscipio* from *sub,* and the Greek ὗψι, ὗψος from ὑπό. Notwithstanding this difficulty, which has thrown back some investigators, as Clemm, upon the σε-hypothesis, Br. believes that the ς of ἐνς is the same ς as in ἐξ, *abs,* arising however at a time when the real force of the ς had dropped out of mind, and ἐξ and ἐκ were fully identical; the addition of it to ἐν being due to the fact that the notions of *into* and *out from* were constantly associated in the consciousness as regular opposites. Many examples are given of similar formations due to regular association, of which a few may be cited. *Thither* is made from þa to answer to *hither* fr. *hi.* Old Latin *uls* = *ultra* answers to *cis* = *citra.* If *uls* had been primitive it should have become *ul,* as *sōl* comes from *sōls.* Κατά from κατ (κάββαλε) answers to ἀνά, and κάτω to ἄνω. Ὄπιθεν (κατόπιν) became ὄπισθεν after πρόσθεν and ὀπίσσω after πρόσσω = προτιω. Ἐμποδών after ἐκποδών, from ἐκ ποδῶν. Late Latin *sinexter* = *sinester* after *dexter, meridionalis* for *meridialis* after *septentrionalis, noctu* after *diu, nocturnus* after *diurnus;* for there is no sign of a stem *noctu* in pre-Italian times. In dialectic German, *heut morgend* after *heut abend.* Δεδεί-πναμεν in Comic Fragments after ἀρίσταμεν like ἕσταμεν. Old Latin *ningulus* after *singulus,* and perh. in Eng. *nill he* after *will he.* In Sans. *sukha* ' happiness ' after *duḥkha* ' misfortune.' Κρείσσων and μείζων, alongside of the Dor. and Ion. κρέσσων and μέζων, cannot be phonetically formed from κρετιων, μεγιων, but the ει of κρείσσων is due to its opposite χείρων and that of μείζων to ὀλείζων, for this is the form confirmed by Inscr. and ὀλίζων a late development after ὀλίγος. The Ital. *greve* from *gravis* ' heavy,' has its *e* from its opposite *leve.* So ἡμεῖς is for ἡμεῖς after ὑμεῖς. It is not only the logical relation which produces such transformation, but the tendency to use such words in pairs, and the fondness for rhyming sounds.

It has been assumed that at the time when ἐνς was formed after the analogy of ἐξ the ς had lost its significance, but the functional difference of ἐκ and ἐξ, whereby ἐκ was employed before consonants and ἐξ before vowels, was not yet in force. For we find in some dialects ἐξ used before consonants till a comparatively late period; and thus as ἐνς arose at a time when ἐξ could be used before both vowels and consonants, we may assume that for a certain time ἐνς and ἐν existed side by side with the meaning *into.* But since the two forms gave an easy means of marking the difference between *in* and *into,* ἐν gradually lost its power of expressing direction towards. Finally ἐντός is evidently a pro-ethnic formation = Lat. *intus.* But as ἐκτός has no analogue in any sister language we may assume that it too was formed after ἐντός.

<div align="right">C. D. MORRIS.</div>

Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, von FRIEDRICH KLUGE. Zweiter unveränderter Abdruck. Strassburg, Karl I. Trübner, 1883.[1]

The completion of this work may be welcomed, as it forms a substantial contribution to the study of the etymology of the Germanic languages. It is less extensive than the excellent dictionary of Weigand, and the whole treatment is more concise. The present methods of philological criticism are applied with skill and clearness, and this volume may be regarded as presenting compactly the results of the most recent investigation. The dictionary is distinctively etymological. There are no authorities cited, and no quotations and references to facilitate tracing the history and use of any word within the language itself, or the changes of meaning which it has undergone. Such a treatment was undoubtedly apart from the author's purpose. Any failure in the work to meet existing wants will probably be found in its defect upon the historical side. But with the limitation which the author himself imposed upon his plan, his work has been very successfully performed.

An exception to what is here said is found in the admirable study of foreign, especially Latin words, which were early received into the language. The examination of each embraces a compact study of the history of the word, both as regards its form and the date of its introduction ; these discussions present its importance as a contribution to the history of German culture and institutions. The consideration of words which are common to the Indo-European family, while only occasionally throwing new light, exhibits a fresh and suggestive treatment and an independent judgment. We would characterize particularly the investigation of words denoting kinship, the names of colors, qualities, animals, metals, trees, parts of the body, etc. Questions which touch mythology and primitive German institutions are so treated as to illustrate the important bearing of linguistic study upon points of history, ethnology and archaeology. An interesting work might be written upon the contributions which history has received from apparently merely verbal study.

A noticeable advance, which recent investigation has made, is in determining the relation of German to the Romance languages. It has been a method as easy in practice as it was unscientific, to assume, at once, an apparently corresponding form in the latter languages as the source and adequate explanation of many German words. A comparison of Kluge's work with as recent a dictionary as Scheler's edition of Diez's Wörterbuch will show how many words which have heretofore been regarded as Romance are truly Germanic in origin, and relics of a dominion which, beyond government, left many traces in the language and institutions of these nations. It would be easy to cite numerous words which have been shown to be of native German origin, as well as mediaeval Latin words derived from the German.

Another merit in Kluge's work is the caution, and the absence of hazardous assumptions which are apparent in his conclusions. His method is, in the main, strict and exact; doubtful relationships are not assumed, or only stated with a suggestion of their difficulty. In this respect he is seldom misleading, and avoids enthroning a supposition as an established fact which, by acceptance, would stand in the way of further investigation, and become, possibly, a permanent misdirection. A work which states results and often omits the

[1] See Vol. III, p. 476.

methods by which they have been attained will give the impression, upon a hasty examination, of a certain arbitrariness in its conclusions; old views are so abruptly discarded and established traditions rejected, that temporary dissent may, in some cases, be natural. The recent light which the study of accent and vowel-changes has thrown upon the derivation and relationship of words has modified old and guided to new conclusions. The illustrations which are given of parallel forms in related languages might be greatly increased; often an archaic or dialectic form furnishes the necessary link in establishing the connection of words. Words which are regarded as lacking in a given language may be found outside the written language, and afford valuable means of tracing linguistic relationship.

In some cases, in giving an English cognate, the author fails to indicate whether the word is still in existence, or belongs to an earlier period of the language. The date of a word is often of primal importance in determining the history and extent of its use.

Among the illustrative words in English which have been omitted are: under Becken, *basin;* Belt, *baldrick* and possibly *Baltic;* Berg, *barrow;* Burg, *burrow* and *borough;* besser, the root *bet,* in the Dut. Betuwe, "good meadow"; bleichen, *bleach;* Bord, *border* and *broider* in embroider; Brunn, *bourn,* as in Spenser and Shakspere, and *burn,* dial. North.; Diele, *deal,* a wood, whether originally related to Teil and *deal,* a division, is uncertain; Droge, *drug;* drohen, *throe;* Farre, *farrow;* Fee, *fay* and *fairy;* fassen, *fit,* Dut. vatten and vatbaar, "fit for," in Shakspere to "be equal," "match"; Fleck, *fleck;* frech, *freak,* a caprice; Garten, *yard;* Gasse, dial. and Skan. *gat* and *gut;* Gauch, *gawk;* gern, *yearn;* gewöhnen, *wont* and *wean;* Gischt, *yeast;* Glanz, *glint* and *glance;* glühen, *gloaming;* Gräuel, *gruesome;* grob, *gruff* (?); Grütze, *grit;* Haber, *haversack,* from Fr. havre-sac, a late introduction, but North. haver-cake, an oat-cake; Haufe, *hope* in "forlorn hope"; heissen, *hight;* Hügel, *how;* Hülle, *hull* and *husk;* Husten, *husky;* kehren, *char* and *chore,* North. and New England; kostspielig, A.-S. spillan, *spill;* krank, *cringe;* Krause, *cruse;* Krug, *crock* and *cruet* (?); Kurbe, *curb* and *curve;* kurz, *curt,* a late form; lau, dial. *lew,* and possibly *luke* in lukewarm, compare A.-S. hleów, *lee;* Löffel, *lap;* Luft, *loft* in aloft; Masern, *measles;* Mause, *moult;* Mütze, *amice;* nett, *neat;* Pelz, *pelt;* Pferd, *palfrey;* retten, *rid;* reuten, *rode,* the suffix so common in proper names in Thuringia; Rinne, *runnel;* Roche, *rook;* saufen, *sup;* scharf, *scarf,* cut, notch, to join timber; Scharte, *schard* in potsherd; Schaden, *scathe;* schlachten, *slaughter;* Schneide, *snathe* North.; schränken, *shrink;* Schüppe, *scoop;;* schrumpfen, dial. and U. S. *scrimp;* Sippe, *sip* in gossip; scheren, add *score,* the twentieth notch; Stoppel, *stubble;* Sund, *sound;* Sumpf, *swamp;* tapfer, *dapper;* Taumel, *tumble;* taufen, *dip;* wachsen, *wax;* wahren, *ware,* in aware; wach, *wait;* Wonne, the root *win* in winsome.

We note a few points in which we are led to different conclusions from those expressed.

Under Arzt, the author says the occasional explanation of the O. H. G. arzât by the Latin artista is to be rejected, both on account of the laws of linguistic change, as well as the signification: "The mediaeval Latin *artista* never means physician." This statement is unhistorical. In the early universities the

artists originally included the physicians. When at Bologna, in 1316, a sepa-
ration of the law-students and the students of the liberal arts took place, the
new university of the *artists*, artistae, included the philosophers, philosophi as
well as the physici or medici. Anthony Wood, in his history of Oxford, speaks
of "a great artist in medicine."

The term Bursche is derived by Kluge from the house in which the charity-
students were maintained. But the term *bursarius* was applied to all students
who were supported by gifts from a public or private purse, *bursa*, and the
name was transferred later to the building in which they lived. Italian
students seem to have derived, in some cases, the name from the purse worn
at the girdle.

Under Buche, Kluge apparently cites with approval the brilliant fallacy
of Max Müller, that Europe was at one time covered by an oak forest, which
was succeeded by a beech-forest, and the same term applied to each vegeta-
tion in turn, Greek φηγός, Lat. fagus, E. beech, a conclusion to be rejected by
reasons drawn from the physical history of the earth as well as on sound
philological principles.

Occasionally it is not quite clear whether the author considers a certain
verb or merely a given form as lacking. Thus he cites the A.-S. fôn from
fahan, to seize, and adds "wanting in English," though the O. E. fangen
appears, and may be traced far later.

Under decken, the A.-S. verb þeccan is given, which is said to be wanting
in English, though found in Layamon's Brute, and still preserved in *thatch ;*
the doublet decken cannot be traced to the A.-S., though common in modern
English. The untrustworthy A.-S. verb brýsan is given under Brosam.

By apparent inadvertence, the verb "to rock" is brought under Roche, rook,
the name of a piece in chess, instead of under Ruck.

Welle is said to be peculiar to the H. G., but we have the A.-S. weallan,
Dut. wellen, E. well.

Occasionally, in giving an English form, the author does not distinguish
between obsolete and dialectic forms and those which now exist in the
language, thus under derb we have *therf ;* kummer, *comber ;* Rapp, *rape*, a
grape stock ; *wain* for wagon.

Of misprints, we notice under snarchen, and in the index, snor for *snore*,
skrape for *scrape*, hweel for *wheel*.

Rape is omitted from the list of words at the end.

Valuable indexes of all the Greek, Latin, French and English words which
have been quoted or discussed in the body of the book are appended. The
English index alone contains nearly 2000 words, which illustrates the care
with which this valuable work has been prepared.

W. T. HEWETT.

Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen und Seminar-
übungen, herausgegeben von W. FOERSTER und E. KOSCHWITZ. Erster
Theil, Die ältesten Sprachdenkmäler, mit einem Facsimile. Heilbronn,
Henninger, 1884. iv, 167 pp.

For the last few years, students have had no reason to complain of any lack
of texts, in the shape of larger or smaller handy collections, from which they
might get a fair introduction to the earliest periods of literature in the different

Romance languages. Nearly thirty years ago (1855), Prof. Bartsch, now of
Heidelberg, opened the list by publishing the first edition of his Chrestomathie
Provençale (under the title Provenzalisches Lesebuch), which has since
successfully passed through four editions (the second in 1868, the third in 1875,
the fourth in 1880). Encouraged by the reception of these extracts, the
compiler went forward and did the same thing ten years later for Old French,
the first edition of his Chrestomathie de l'ancien Français appearing in 1865.
This, too, has reached the fourth reprint (second in 1871, third in 1875, fourth
in 1881).

Prof. Paul Meyer, of the École des Chartes, Paris, extended the variety of
material offered, so as to take in a few specimens of Low Latin inscriptions
and other excerpts, in his Recueil d'Anciens Textes Bas-Latins, Provençaux
et Français, Paris, 1877. About the same time, Lidfors brought out a volume
containing a small number of selections for Scandinavian scholars, under the
title Choix d'anciens textes français, Lund, 1877. Prof. Koschwitz, of Greifs-
wald, recognizing the great need of cheap special texts for seminary work in
Old French, gave us, in 1879, the first edition of his Les plus anciens monu-
ments de la langue française, of which a second edition appeared a year later,
and the third enlarged and improved edition has just now been published by
Henninger. In this same year (1879), the celebrated Abbé Bayle, of Aix in
Provence, furnished us with his Anthologie provençale, poésies choisies des
troubadours du Xe au XVe siècle (Aix); and Professors Monaci (Rome) and
D'Ovidio (Naples) produced the first volume of their series of Manualetti
d'introduzione agli Studj Neolatini, of which the Spanish (1879), Portuguese
and Gallician (1881) parts now lie before us. In 1882, Prof. Ulrich, of Zurich,
published his important Rhaetoromanische Chrestomathie in two parts, I
Theil, Oberländische Chrestomathie; II Theil, Engadinische Chrestomathie
(Texte, Anmerkungen, Glossar), which brings us down to the unique volume
mentioned at the head of this notice. As a rival of this collection of Old
French documents, we have been favored with another, gotten out in all haste
by Prof. Stengel, of Marburg, in Ausgaben und Abhandlungen, XI, 1884. Die
ältesten französischen Sprachdenkmäler of this scholar covers, so far, (1) the
Oaths of Strassburg, (2) the Eulalia Hymn, (3) the Fragment de Valenciennes,
(4) Passion du Christ, (5) Vie de Saint Léger, and (6) a Sponsus. It may be
well, perhaps, in this connection, to remark that we have three other Romance
collections promised for the near future. In 1879, Prof. Morel-Fatio, of the
Collége de France, announced his Chrestomathie Catalane of prose and poetry
from the most ancient times down to the end of the XVIII century. In 1880
Gaston Paris gave notice that he is preparing a Manuel d'ancien Français
(Xe–XIVe siècle), containing extracts, grammar, notes and a glossary ; and in
the same year, Prof. Gaster, of Bucharest, made known that he would soon
bring out a Chrestomathie roumaine, with grammar and vocabulary.

It is only in the Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch of Foerster and Koschwitz
that we have, at last, what every one has greatly wanted, who has had to deal
with the ensemble of Old French texts, that is, a collection of all the earliest
monuments of the language (most of them in their entirety), reproduced with
strictest fidelity to the MSS and at a moderate price. The present volume is
clearly distinguished from all its predecessors, in that the texts are given us as

they really exist, and not as some one has thought they should exist. Variae lectiones and suggested emendations are found in foot-notes. At the beginning of each piece are given first, the MS or MSS with their present condition and where they, as well as their facsimiles, are to be found; second, the various editions, extracts, etc., that have been published of them; third, corrections, exegesis and treatment of special topics of phonology, morphology and syntax, and last of all, everything that has been written concerning the dialect. It will be seen, therefore, that we have of each individual subject, as here treated, almost a complete bibliography, which cannot fail to be of great use to the student who is working himself into the history and peculiar linguistic character of these monuments. Opportunities have not been wanting to him in this respect, so far as parts of the texts, especially in their emended form, are concerned, but it is in this work only that he has the whole material presented in close accordance with the originals, and together with the necessary helps of book and journal references that lie scattered throughout an extensive literature of the last fifteen or twenty years. Could the French littérateur, Charles Aubertin, have had before him this beautiful compilation, with its set of complete texts for the Passion, the St. Léger, the St. Alexis, etc., he would never have committed the unpardonable blunder of thinking that the few extracts from them, found in Bartsch's Chrestomathie, represented these poems in full. Compare his Histoire de la langue et de la littérature françaises au moyen âge, I 110-11, where forty-seven strophes only are given as the entire Passion that contains one hundred and twenty-nine.[1] The documents that constitute this first volume are not selected and specially arranged according to age, but they begin with the oldest, the Reichenau Glosses of about the middle of the eighth century, and come down to the so-called Franco-Provençal Alexander fragment of Alberic de Besançon in the twelfth century. Between these two extremes we have thirteen literary monuments represented, to each of which is attached the name of the editor, so that the responsibility for its present arrangement can be easily settled. Prof. Foerster gives us six specimens, namely, the Reichenau Glosses with supplement, the Kassel Glosses, Vie de Saint Alexis, a religious formula according to the Paris Latin MS 2403, and the Alexander fragment; Koschwitz furnishes the Strassburg Oaths, Eulalia Hymn, the Fragment de Valenciennes, Passion du Christ, and the St. Léger with its Vita Sancti Leodegarii. Of both these sets of texts the Vie de Saint Alexis is the most worthy of special mention, since, for the first time, it is here presented with the readings of all the known MSS. More than ten years ago Foerster had collated the MSS for an edition of this work, outside of a single one belonging to Lord Ashburnham, whose lack of generosity in allowing his valuable MSS to be consulted is well known.[2] By some rare fortune the Bonn professor has obtained a facsimile copy of this Ashburnham codex, the various readings of which, as next to the oldest in the St. Alexis list, are of great value for a rigidly critical treatment of the text.[3]

[1] My attention was called to this awkward mistake of the French savant by Mr. Todd, of the J. H. University.

[2] Cf. Vising, who, for his Étude sur le dialecte Anglo-Normand du XIIe siècle, Upsala, 1882, tried in vain to get permission to copy the Voyage de Saint Brandan.

[3] The editor announces a new edition of the "Alexis," including a collation of this MS, for one of the early numbers of the Altfranzösische Bibliothek.

Another important selection, covering more than eighteen pages, is the Reichenau Glosses, of which all those are given here that are of special worth to the Romance scholar. A second part, worked out with the same conscientious regard for the MSS as the first, is announced to appear soon, and will contain not only the simple texts, but also, as nearly as possible, material for a complete presentation of the most important Old French dialects, together with a selection of the oldest and most characteristic sources of special Langue d'oïl types of language. Besides these, too, it will give a prominent place to outlying idioms, such as the Anglo-Norman, that have a close connection with the French proper. The editors find this material so extensive and so difficult to control that they solicit suggestions from any professors who may feel a particular interest in the arrangement and distribution of it, so as to best suit their individual needs.

For scholars, then, this Übungsbuch is the most complete and by far the best collection of texts that have ever been published. It is a mass of raw material, such as should naturally form the foundation of all seminary exercises, and, therefore, is not at all adapted to general literary purposes. Taken along with the facsimiles of Romance manuscripts already published, such as the collections of Prof. Monaci, of Prof. Stengel, of the Bonn Seminarium, of the École des Chartes, the student of Romance languages, at a distance from the great European depositories of MSS, may feel that he has a chance for a fair introduction, at least, to the paleography of this subject.

<div align="right">A. M. ELLIOTT.</div>

Kreolische Studien, von HUGO SCHUCHARDT. VI, Ueber das Indoportugiesische von Mangalore. Separatabdruck aus dem Jahrgange 1883 der Kais. Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften (CV B. 881–904).

In the Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa for 1880, pp. 129–96, there appeared a remarkable article by F. Adolph Coelho, the first Romance scholar of his country, and Professor do Curso Superior de Lettras of Lisbon, on Os dialectos romanicos ou Neo-Latinos na Africa, Asia e America. The eminent Portuguese scholar deals with four great classes of outlying Romance dialects, namely, (1) Dialectos Portugezas, comprehending the Creole of Saint Antonio, of St. Thomas, of St. Jago (Cape Verd Archipelago), of Southern Senegambia, together with the Brazil, Ceylon, Malacca and Macau species; (2) Dialectos Hespanoes (taking in the Creole of Curaçoa, the Buenos-Ayres and Montevideo types); (3) Dialectos Francezes, the Creole of Mauritius, Louisiana, Guyana, St. Domingo, Trinidad and Martinique; (4) Lingua Franca. From the mere mention of the divers idioms here treated, some idea may be gathered of the extent and variety of material the author had to control, in order to give us even the leading characteristics of the phonology, morphology and syntax of these dialects. Especially, too, are we able to conceive something of the difficulty of such an undertaking, when we remember that here, for the first time, a comprehensive view is presented of several of these Mischdialekte taken together.

If we glance back a little to see what existed in the line of separate works, monographs, articles, etc., that could be of service in such a study as this, we

note at once both their special character and their extremely limited extent.
In 1849 Bertrand-Bocandé reviewed the Guinea Portuguese in the Bulletin de
la Société de Géographie de Paris ; Il Propugnatore, vol.V, parte IIa, pp. 129–38,
furnished the first scientific study of the Ceylon Portuguese by the celebrated
Italian scholar, Prof. Emilio Teza, of the University of Pisa. Prof. Maspero,
of the Collége de France, published in the Mémoires de la Société de Linguis-
tique de Paris, 1875, a paper on the dialect of the Rio de la Plata. Thomas
(J. J.) gave us, about this time, his treatise on the theory and practice of Creole
grammar, published at Port of Spain, Trinidad. Tureault sent out, in 1876,
his Étude sur le langage créole de la Martinique, 2 vols. 8vo, Brest. Dr. Bos,
in Romania, IX 571–8, 1880, showed us some of the more general character-
istics of the Mauritian dialect. These constitute, in the main, the helps that
Coelho had before him when he wrote his essay, and it will be observed from
their special nature, treating, as they do, a very limited number only of the
dialects mentioned in his paper, that he has here acted the full part of a
pioneer. Soon after the appearance of his article, C. Baissac published a
portly volume entitled Étude sur le patois créole mauricien, Nancy, 1880.
Ten years previously to this, Prof. Schuchardt, of Graz, had begun the study of
these distant dialects with the hope of throwing light upon the origin of the
chief Romance languages, and it was by the almost simultaneous appearance
of the important works of Baissac and Coelho in this field that his interest in
it was re-awakened and his investigations continued, so that in 1882 he sent
out the first of his monographic studies, of which No. VI is now before us.
This second pioneer series, covering a part of the Romance dialect territory
different from that treated by Coelho, consists of four articles on divers species
of Portuguese (Nos. I, II, III and VI), one on the Malay Spanish, and one on
the Melanesian English. Number I is entitled Ueber das Negroportugie-
sische von S. Thomé (West Afrika), cf. Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie,
CI B. 889–917, Phil. hist. classe ; No. II, Ueber das Indoportugiesische von
Cochin, ibid. CII B. 799–816 ; No. III, Ueber das Indoportugiesische von
Diu, ibid. CIII Bd. 3–18 ; No. IV, Ueber das Malaiospanische der Philippinen,
ibid. CV B. 111–50 ; No. V, Ueber das Melaneso-Englische, ibid. CV B.
151–61 ; and No. VI as noted above. This last-mentioned study consists of
observations on the geographical distribution of the Mangalore idiom, and the
probable number of inhabitants that speak it, together with fifteen pages of
original texts, covering folk-songs, tales, conversational extracts and transla-
tions, all of which is followed by a cursory survey of the most striking peculi-
arities of the phonology and morphology of the dialect. In the treatment of
these there is, of course, constant reference to the other studies, just named,
of our author on the different types of Portuguese in the East, but he remarks
especially the strong resemblance between the Mangalore and the Cochin
species, the former, however, showing a much stronger influence of the
English than the latter. The Indo-Portuguese inhabitants of this region, as a
rule, in truth, speak to-day only Malabar or English, so that we have to do
here with language-forms that are in full process of disappearing, and the
writer thinks it will not be long before the mixed idioms shall have disappeared
altogether. The whole number of Portuguese Catholics, both in Eastern and
Western India, is counted at 134,000, of whom about one-half still speak the

Indo-Portuguese. In a general estimate of the numbers who still use the mixed dialect in S. E. India—that part of the language territory here studied by our author—the coast from Goa to Cape Comorin is divided into two great districts, one of which, the southern, has its central point in Cochin, the other in Mangalore, and the Catholics amount here, in all, to about sixty thousand. If we reckon that the same proportion of inhabitants use the dialect in this part of India as is calculated for the whole country, we have about thirty thousand as a rough approximation of the extent to which it is spoken on the East coast.

In its phonetics, the most noteworthy characteristic of the Mangalore idiom is the loss of its final atonic vowel in pronunciation, and in writing even the sign is often omitted, as in forms like temp, noit, minh, etc. For the morphology, a phenomenon here presents itself that is thought to be unique and of great importance for the whole question of speech-mixture, namely, the English possessive case-sign has passed into the Portuguese, and we have constructions such as todos casa's gente = "all the persons of the house," Alexandre's alma = "Alexander's soul," etc.

Max Muller's well-known axiom that "denies the possibility of a mixed language" (Lectures on the Science of Language, vol. I[8], p. 86) receives, in this case, a severe shock, for he surely could not count the Indian idiom as belonging to English in the face of so many grammar elements that are strictly Romance in form and construction, and yet we have here one of the strongest characteristics of Teutonic speech firmly established as an integral part of the grammatical machinery of this dialect. Furthermore, this is the general means of expressing all genitive relations in the Mangalore idiom, as, for example, ouru's quantia = "a quantity of gold," and English substantival composita fall into the same category when transferred to this dialect, e. g., cama's roupa = bed-clothes. Double genitives, too, are thus construed with perfect freedom, as Vussé's filha's perto; este pedaço he hombre's olho's casco que, etc.

English words with Portuguese terminations come up just as we find them throughout other departments of the Romance dialects, when they are brought into contact with foreign elements, as, for example, in the case of the German, the Nahuatl, etc. English citizen gives us dialect citizão, advantages, dialect advantagens. The few examples here cited are sufficient to bring out, in a measure, the importance that attaches to these scientific contributions on a set of Romance dialects that are not known to many specialists, even in this department of Romance philology. But the series, with its limited number of texts and succinct statement of general linguistic characteristics, is only intended as a forerunner to an extensive and detailed work that shall comprehend, not only the rarer Neo-Latin jargons of non-European growth, but also those that have a Teutonic basis (cf. Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, V 581). Prof. Schuchardt's acquaintance with multiform types of language, and his clear, critical judgment in dealing with intricate masses of material, as is shown in his Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins, eminently fit him for this difficult task, and the results, therefore, of his labors in this field cannot but be looked forward to with the greatest interest by all those specially engaged in dialect research.

<div style="text-align: right">A. M. ELLIOTT.</div>

Indogermanische Grammatiken. Band IV. B. Delbrück, Einleitung in das Sprachstudium. 2te Auflage. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884.

Many students in this country, as well as abroad, who have felt the value of Prof. Delbrück's useful and suggestive little summary, will experience a feeling of disappointment on reading in his preface to the new edition that, owing to an accident, he did not learn the necessity of a second edition until too late to carry out his original plan, which was to extend the historical portion of the work (this would have been especially desirable in the chapter on " Neue Bestrebungen ") so as to obtain a background better adapted to set off the achievements of such masters as Bopp and Grimm. The second essentially subjective portion of the book it was also his design to partially remodel; but this intention, like the other, could not be carried into execution, and he had only time to revise the whole, with here and there a slight addition. The principal amendments (most of them indicated in the preface) are the following:

On pp. 53–54 we miss the picturesque statement that Schleicher must have viewed the proceedings of the anatomist through philological spectacles, and find instead a eulogy of the methods pursued and services rendered by this eminent investigator. Ascoli also comes in for his share of praise on p. 58, and in a note on p. 122 his Lettera glottologica of 1881 is discussed, in which it is claimed that the variety of development attained by the I. E. languages in the course of time (such, for instance, as the change of the Latin *u* to *ü* on Gallo-Romanic ground) is due to the " Kreuzung der Völker." Delbrück is inclined to think that this theory claims too much, since, for example, we meet with the change of *u* to *ü* on Slavonic ground, where no Keltic intermixture can exist; yet he admits that this idea must not be lost sight of in our historical investigation of forms, and is led in this connection to speak of the sentence-accent, so frequently a distinguishing characteristic among the German dialects, yet which has never yet been utilized in drawing the boundaries between them.

In his preface to the English translation, Prof. Delbrück expressed the hope that in a second edition he might be able to discuss his disagreement with Sayce's views; we find nothing, however, in the present volume, except a note on p. 70, stating that the Englishman agrees, in the main, with Ludwig's "Adaptation theory," after revoking an earlier opinion very similar to Bopp's, with regard to the personal endings of the verb.

Perhaps the most important alteration in the book is in the passage on pp. 118–119, where the question is discussed whether the law of economy is to be regarded as the only principle in phonetic change. In consideration of Prof. Whitney's remarks in the Proceedings of the Am. Phil. Assoc. for July, 1882, the theory of the latter is presented by Prof. Delbrück with more fulness and accuracy than before, and he admits that the tendency to ease plays " eine ganz hervorragende Rolle" in the life of language. He does not, however, content himself with acknowledging (with Whitney) the *a priori* possibility of the existence of other factors yet to be discovered; ignoring Whitney's objection that there can be no conscious " striving " in the case, he still advocates the plausibility of an "aesthetic" impulse, as brought forward in the first edition. This he further elaborates by the example of the fashionable habit,

prevailing among the German military, of speaking through the nose, and the experience of Kempelen regarding the favorite pronunciation of *r* in Paris. He seems to lose sight of the fact that such arbitrary proceedings (in so far as they *are* arbitrary, and do not rest, on the one hand, on physical grounds, and, on the other hand, on an unconscious imitation of the pronunciation of one's fellows) have no more to do with the natural life and growth of language than an edict of government which (if we can imagine it) should forbid the utterance of the vowel *a* within a given community.

There is little else to record in the way of addition or improvement. Rather interesting is the opinion, expressed in a sentence at the end of the chapter on the agglutination theory, that if the attempt (to analyze I. E. inflectional forms) is ever to be more successful than at present, "so wird das jedenfalls nur mit reichlicher Benutzung der ausserindogermanischen Sprachwelt möglich sein." In the chapter on the Separation of the Races, the views of Johannes Schmidt are presented somewhat more in detail, especially in their relation to those of Leskien. To the whole a brief conclusion is appended, which is summed up in the remark, already uttered in the preface to the English translation, "Die Sprachwissenschaft ist aus der philosophischen in die historische Periode eingetreten."

E. CHANNING.

De Theatro Attico saeculi ante Christum quinti.   Dissertatio philologa.   JULIUS HÖPKEN.   Bonnae, 1884.

Philologie.   Ueber das griechische und römische Theater, von DR. J. HÖPKEN.

These two, the former a graduating thesis, the latter a more popular restatement of the same, may be noticed together.   The points which Dr. Höpken desires to establish are, as it will be seen, decidedly revolutionary.   To any one who has been a pleased and confiding spectator at recent representations of Greek plays—as, for example, the excellent and justly praised production of the Œdipus Tyrannus, at Cassel, in 1879, or the more elaborate representation of the same play at Harvard in 1881—it will be perhaps somewhat startling to be told that learned professors have been in error, not in details simply, but in regard to the most important relations between chorus and actors.   Yet, improbable as it may be that the true explanation should so long have been delayed, one must be only too glad of any additional light upon difficulties and contradictions in the account of the construction of the theatre heretofore accepted.

Dr. Höpken claims that the Attic theatre of the 5th century B. C. differed from the Roman theatres and others of a later date more than the plans in the books indicate.

As is well known, the cavea or θέατρον proper (see fig. RRR) was curtailed in the Roman theatre to a semicircle; the front of the proscenium (in the extended sense) was the whole diameter of this circle, and consequently this space was sufficiently large for a stage when a chorus was no longer to be provided for.   In the 5th century theatre, on the other hand, the whole

orchestra, he maintains, was the stage, and the proscenium or traditional stage was purely subsidiary, a mere vestibule to the larger adjoining (and temporary) stage on the same level; this stage must have filled the greater part of the orchestra; an open place, the Konistra (see fig. 1, O), was, however, left between this elevated platform and the lowest circle of seats; this latter was to serve for the convenience of spectators in gaining or leaving their seats; this Konistra, moreover, was gained by two passages (fig. 1, A'A') at either side of the proscenium, leading into the open air, and very commonly, though falsely, called the Parodoi. The Thymele (T) he puts, not in the centre of the orchestra, but at the middle of the circle furthest from the proscenium; finally, the "proscenium steps," so called, leading down from the proscenium (II'I') to a lower level, were an invention, or rather a misconception, on the part of Pollux, of the word 'proscenium.'

Our notions of the Greek theatre are drawn chiefly from the grammarian Pollux (of the 2d century A. D.); from the treatise on architecture by Vitruvius (under Augustus), and from the remains of Roman and Greek theatres which have been preserved. Scattered information may, however, be obtained from the scholiasts and some other sources. By a careful comparison of these, Dr. Höpken has been able to show a confusion of terminology on the part of Pollux and Vitruvius, certainly sufficient to warrant a re-examination of views heretofore taken for granted. So persuaded has he become of the error of ruling notions that he declares (Dissert. p. 15) "in scaena vel proscaenio, una exceptione (*i. e.* the Roman) admissa, actum esse nego."

A brief sketch of his argument is here given. Thespis elevated his actor on a table in the midst of the chorus. Around this chorus the spectators ranged themselves in a circle. The purpose of this table, or thymele, was that the actor might readily be seen. From the dialogue between this actor and the chorus arose the drama. Probably about this time a background was introduced; this cut off a small segment of the circle and would thus break the ring of spectators. Aeschylus next wishes to introduce the actor to greater liberty of action. He is to move about freely, nor is he to be hindered by the inconvenience of ascending and descending the thymele; hence the thymele, Dr. Höpken claims, is reduced to a level with the surrounding orchestra and the actor moves freely about this enlarged stage. But how shall he be distinguished from and above the chorus? Evidently this is the natural explanation of the invention of the cothurnus and other devices for increasing the height of the actors.[1] In this connection it is shown that thymele (may) = logeion, and the logeion was called ὀκρίβας; but from various authorities we learn that ὀκρίβας was another name for the cothurnus. In other words, when the office of the thymele was usurped by the cothurnus, there arose a not unnatural confusion of names. Here may also be noticed the confusion of the whole series of terms, scaena, proscenium, thymele, logeion; to a disentangle-

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[1] Donaldson ('Theatre of the Greeks,' p. 285) denies positively that the adoption of the Cothurnus was "primarily occasioned by the necessity of giving the actor a more elevated stature," but the scholiast to Lucian (Jup. Trag.), whom D. himself cites in another place, uses the expression: ἐμβάτας μὲν τὰ ξύλα ἃ βάλλουσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, ἵνα φανῶσι μακρότεροι.

ment of these, all used as interchangeable, at one time or another, the latter part of the dissertation is devoted.

Certain passages cited by Dr. Höpken, *e. g.* the sprinkling of the barley among the spectators (Ar. Pax 962 sqq.), or the appeal of Dionysus (Ran. V 293 sqq.) to the priest (of Dionysus seated in the front row of seats)—seem to show that the actors must then have been near the spectators and therefore in the orchestra. Some obvious difficulties about this passage, however, are not entirely cleared up by this new arrangement.
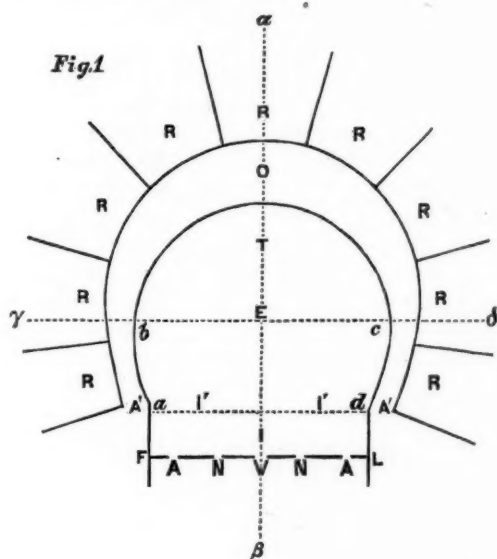
A staging was built out from the permanent structure of the proscenium for every series of dramatic representations. That this staging was temporary is assumed, in part, from the decorations on the front of the proscenium wall, *i. e.* the Hyposcenium which Höpken locates " unter dem Proscenium." The chief argument against this view is the allusion in Pollux to the " proscenium stairs," by which we are to understand that the actors descended into the orchestra from time to time. An elaborate citation and comparison of passages is here given to prove that this allusion rests upon a misconception of the use of the word ' proscenium '; προσκήνιον has several meanings: 1. the ordinary one; 2. one of the stage fixtures; 3. a veil. Here it is probably used in the second sense, and probably also from it, by means of these " proscenium stairs," Trygaeus (Ar. Pax v. 174) descends after being deserted by his beetle. Athenaeus (περὶ Μηχανημάτων, p. 29, ed. Wescher) says: κατεσκεύασαν δέ τινες ἐν πολιορκίᾳ κλιμάκων γένη παραπλήσια τοῖς τιθεμένοις ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις πρὸς τὰ παρασκήνια τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς; these *moveable* steps, it is claimed, would not have been placed at the front of the stone proscenium. Moreover, we have the term προσκήνιον specifically included among the list of stage machines (see Dissert. p. 21). Finally, Wieseler's " Theatergebäude und Denkmäler" (Tab. IX 14) preserves a probably ancient representation of this machine ; with this is compared the gloss to Verg. Georg. II 380: " proscaenia autem sunt pulpita ante scaenam, in quibus ludicra exercentur." This misunderstanding arose as follows. By the old view, the actors are upon the stage, the chorus *down* in the orchestra; chorus and actors must come into connection from time to time, therefore this set of steps is invented for the purpose.

In the " frons scaenae" (FL, fig. 1) are five doors, the three middle doors and the two parodoi at the extreme right and left. By the latter enter the chorus and, from the left, the gods (when not from above). The so-called parodoi, on a level with, and leading into, the κονίστρα are for the use of the spectators. They were frequently confused with the real πάροδοι; to distinguish Plutarch speaks of αἱ ἄνω and αἱ κάτω πάροδοι.

The logeion or logeum was the scaffolding in the orchestra adjoining the proscenium. After the final disappearance of the chorus from the drama in the 4th century B. C., the scaffolding in the orchestra could be built smaller. And since there was no longer any dancing or singing upon it, the name ' Logeion ' (abcd, fig. 1) was given to it. To give Höpken's own words (Philologie, p. 7), " Die Bühne (= scaena) war also folgende: Durch die Thüren der Bühnenwand schritten die Schauspieler über den Coulissenraum, das Proscenium, auf das Gerüst der Orchestra, Logeion, auf dem das Stück allen sichtbar, die in dem halbkreisförmigen Theater zuschauten, gespielt wurde."

The figures appended will illustrate the views advanced by Dr. Höpken.

In fig. 1, R—R—R = lowest row of spectators. The dotted line $\gamma\delta$ shows the limitation of the Roman semicircle.

Fig.1

SECTIO PER LINEAM $\alpha\delta$ FACTA.
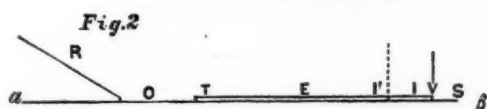
Fig.2

FL = Frons scaenae.	T = Thymele.
I = Proscenium.	V = Middle door.
E = Orchestra.	NN = Side doors.
O = Konistra.	AA = Parodoi.
A'A' = Exits ($\pi\nu\lambda\iota\varsigma$ and $\psi\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$).	

In fig. 2, a section made through the dotted line $\alpha\beta$ (fig. 1) is given to show the elevation of orchestra (E) and proscenium (I), and the depression left by the konistra (O) between spectators (R) and the orchestral stage.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.

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Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum edita curantibus Ioanne Kvičala et Carolo Schenkl. Ciceronis Orationes Selectae. Scholarum in usum edidit HERMANNUS NOHL. Vol. I, Oratio pro Sex. Roscio Amerino. Leipzig, Freytag, 1884.

This little volume of forty pages, forming part of a new series of Latin authors, edited for school use, deserves attention by reason of its cheapness (the price is only about eight cents), the clearness of its print, which is singu-

larly free from errors, and the care which has been bestowed upon the consti-
tution of the text.   The form of page chosen seems to us a little too broad, and
the line so long as to be somewhat confusing to the eye.   Beneath the text on
each page is given a judicious selection of various readings and of emendations
proposed by different scholars.   In the text itself words or letters not found in
the MSS, but due to emendation or conjecture, are printed in italics.

Of course, for teachers such an edition will not supersede the recent edition
of Landgraf, with its critical appendix and the scholia Gronoviana, nor that of
Mueller, with its fuller statement of MS-readings, but it is admirably adapted
for school use.   The following notes may give some idea of its critical
procedure.   In §11, Madvig's emendation *dignissimam* for the unintelligible
dimissius of the MSS has been accepted, to make a readable text; §26, *inso-
lentius* is read for *lentius* (following Eberhard), where Richter and Fleckeisen
read *licentius;* §31, we think Madvig's *minae et terrores*, which Landgraf
accepts, and which has some support in the MSS, should be followed rather
than read *omnes immineant terrores periculaque impendeant omnia*.   In §39 we
are glad to see the repeated question *Patri non placebat?* kept against Madvig.
In §55 the editor proposes to omit *inimicus* after *huc*.   §60, he does not attach
enough weight to the testimony of Gellius and Diomedes in favor of *pepugisset*,
but adopts *pupugisset*, although in §131 he accepts *pernicii* on Gellius' authority,
and in §104 reads *audaciter* with Priscian.   *Haec* is rightly kept instead of *hae*
in §67.   In §78 *cur* is omitted, following Pluygers, and in §86 *elucet* is read
for the manuscript *eluceat*.   In §106 *suspicandum hoc* does not strike us as a
happy emendation, but the passage is one not easy to restore.   The edition, as
a whole, however, is very attractive.   The same can be said of another volume
of the series, which has just come to hand, an edition of the Fasti of Ovid, by
Otto Güthling, with an excellent index of proper names.

                                                                    M. W.

De Tribus Pseudacronianorum Scholiorum Recensionibus scripsit Riccardus
    Kukula, Dr. Phil.   Vindobonae, apud Carolum Konegen, 1883. 49 pp.

Der sogenannte Gronov Scholiast zu elf Ciceronischen Reden.   Ueberlief-
    erung, Text und Sprache auf Grund einer Neuvergleichung der Leydener
    Handschrift, dargestellt von Dr. Thomas Stangl.   Leipzig, G. Freytag,
    1884.   82 pp.

It is a fact worthy of note that, of late years, increased attention has been
given to the remains of ancient learning and criticism which have come down
to us in the form of scholia, glossaries and commentaries, of grammatical
compendia and such hodge-podge miscellanea as are contained in Aulus
Gellius, Nonius and Macrobius.   To ascertain from what sources an author
like Gellius or Servius drew his wisdom is a matter of no slight importance,
and from the investigations still going on in this field, valuable results may be
expected.   So the attempt to point out the component parts of the commentary
of Donatus to Terence reveals facts of the utmost interest, but here the last
word cannot be said until we have before us an authoritative text, a work for
which scholars have long waited impatiently.

The first of the treatises named above has to do with the scholia of Horace
which go under the name of Pseudo-Acron.   The writer refers to the exami-

nation of the scholia made by Keller in Symbola Phil. Bonnensium, Lips. 1867, where the results reached were based mainly upon the subject-matter, with very little regard to the language. Kukula proposes to scrutinize more closely the diction of the scholia. Keller came to the conclusion that the Recension A belonged to the beginning of the fifth century, and Γ to the end of the same, while Kukula sets A at about 450, and Γ not before the middle of the sixth century. The existing editions of the scholia are inadequate; a new one is demanded, in which the different recensions are not confused. It is evident that the scholia to the odes and the scholia to the satires and epistles are not the work of the same hand. In the one the scholiast speaks always of Maro, in the other of Vergil. Three recensions then must be sharply distinguished.

The writer points out numerous words in A which are first found in authors of the fourth century. *Dilapidatio*, put down by Harper's as ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, occurs in Schol. Carm. II 8, 22; five words are found which occur first in writers at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, among these *grossus* and *incongrue*. *Tempestuosus*, which is frequent in Pseudo-Acron, is not found elsewhere earlier than the fifth century. On such data the recension A is set between 430 and 450.

The recensions Γ and rγ are examined in a similar way in regard to their vocabulary, and the former assigned to the middle or end of the sixth century, the latter to a period certainly not earlier than the seventh, with some interpolations of an even later date. In A we never have such comparative formations as *magis pulchriores, amplius sapientior, amplius graviores*, which are found in vγ. The recension rγ has also many more ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, and in many ways reveals its later origin. Skilfully as the evidence is put, it is clear that the writer attaches altogether too much weight to the statements of the available lexica in regard to the occurrence of a word. When the vocabulary of all the later writers shall have been as thoroughly scanned as he has scanned that of the scholia, many of his arguments may be found untrustworthy.

The treatise on the scholia Gronoviana, by Stangl, is a very careful and thorough piece of work. Having given the history of the scholia, and some account of the MS in which four different hands are to be distinguished, the first being of the tenth century, he proceeds in part II to consider the character and age of the scholia. Gronovius had already detected traces of two scholiasts, and A. Mai before him had hinted that there was still another. Stangl undertakes to prove that the scholia in Cat. II–IV, pro Ligario, pro Marcello, pro Deiotaro, pro Roscio Amerino, pro lege Manilia, pro Milone, are to be ascribed to a fourth scholiast. The scholiast A is by far the best, and may have lived as early as the fifth century. The scholiast B, much inferior to A, has drawn largely from the Pseudo-Asconius and was probably a Christian. C is perhaps a little more independent than B, and neither is to be assigned to a date earlier than 600, while D, the poorest of all, as he is the most extensive, lived still later. Part III contains emendations to the text of the scholia, which show how thoroughly the writer has equipped himself for his task. Part IV is taken up with the proof in detail of the statements made above, and for those who are interested in matters of grammar and style will be interesting reading. Good indices complete the book. We trust that an edition of the scholia will soon follow.

M. W.

Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts.
   Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1883.

No. 41, Das Endinger Judenspiel.   Zum ersten mal herausgegeben von
Karl von Amira.

This drama is by an anonymous author.   It was represented in the year
1616 in Endingen.   The story of the play is very simple.   A family of poor
Christians was murdered in Endingen about the year 1462.   Several Jews of
the town were accused of the murder in 1470; they confessed the crime and
were burned.   The play is written in a very simple style; the criminals do not
make the slightest effort to hide the deed, but confess their guilt at once.   It
is not certain whether the play is founded on an historical occurrence or not.

Nos. 42, 43, Elf Fastnachtspiele aus den Jahren 1550 und .1551, von Hans
Sachs.   Herausgegeben von Edmund Goetze.

Whatever may be said of the poetical genius of Hans Sachs, and of the
literary significance of his works, he holds the first rank among the great
number of dramatists of the sixteenth century.   This is certain, despite the
fact that his dramatic power and skill are far from being very great in the true
sense of the word.   His "Fastnachtspiele" are probably the best works he
ever wrote.   They are founded on little anecdotes and humoristic stories, which
he treated in his peculiar dramatic fashion.   The selection contained in the
present volume includes eleven plays, No. 39 to 50 inclusive.   Some of them,
especially No. 42, "Der Bauer in dem Fegfeuer," and No. 43, "Die listige
Buhlerin," are founded on stories of the Decameron of Boccaccio.   The whole
collection is not without interest, and shows the old Mastersinger to his best
advantage.   The plays give a faithful picture of the times, and especially of
the life in the German cities.

No. 49, Streitgedichte gegen Herzog Heinrich den Jüngern von Braun-
schweig, von Burkau Wallis, 1542.   Herausgegeben von Friedrich Koldeweg.

This volume contains four poems.   Their author was a zealous adherent of
the Reformation, while the Duke Henry of Brunswick was vehemently opposed
to Luther.   The duke was powerful and cruel; he was a Catholic less from
religious convictions than from selfish interests.   His anger was particularly
aroused when the new doctrine was preached in his city of Brunswick.   At
the imperial diet in Ratisbon, in the year 1541, he was accused of several
criminal deeds, especially of having set fire to the town of Einbeck, when
three hundred of its inhabitants perished in the flames.   In the year 1542 the
electoral prince, Johann Friedrich of Saxony, and the Landgrave Philipp of
Hessia marched against the duke in the interests of the cities of Brunswick
and Goslar, which Henry had oppressed.   The duchy was conquered and the
duke fled.   This campaign against the adversary of the Reformation brought
forth many songs and satires, in which the joy at the victory of the Protestant
cause and the scorn at the duke's defeat found a vivid expression.

The four poems given in the present volume are interesting, as they show
us the spirit of a very interesting epoch.

                                                                    D.

REPORTS.

The first article in this part, pp. 1–7, is by Cobet, entitled "Hecataei Milesii scripta ψευδεπίγραφα." After quoting the passages of Galen in which we are told that the demand of the Alexandrian and Pergamene kings for the works of illustrious authors called forth a supply of forged writings, Cobet says he is convinced that the books of Hecataeus, from which the fragments we possess were taken, were of this character. "Ipsius Hecataei scripta ab Herodoto obscurata et obruta olim perierant et quidquid sub Hecataei nomine ferebatur erat ψευδεπίγραφον et Hecataei nil praeter nomen habebat." Passages are quoted from Athenaeus, Arrian, and Strabo, to show that doubt of the authorship was felt by these writers. When the demand came, "apparebant Hecataei περιηγήσεις, γενεαλογίαι, ἱστορίαι, omnia ψευδεπίγραφα et magnam partem ex ipso Herodoto desumta; quod quum vidissent eruditi satis inepte opinati sunt Herodotum quae Hecataeo sublegisset edidisse pro suis." This opinion, it is true, is entertained by C. Müller, the editor of the *fragmenta Histor. Graec.* But "πουλυμαθημοσίνη, τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον οὐδέν, et sanae rationi officit et obtundit iudicium. Diu et multum in hac palaestra exercitatum esse oportet eum qui antiqua ab recentioribus, genuina a spuriis discernere posse velit; et quia plerique multa quam multum malebant legere factum est ut non haberent (ut Galeni verbis utar) ἐπιστήμην κριτικὴν τῶν γεγραμμένων." Prof. Sayce, who has recently undertaken to edit the first three books of Herodotus, shows that, in regard to the claims of Herodotus and of Hecataeus to property in statements which purport to be made by both of them, he is in the uncritical state just censured.

Cobet next, pp. 8–20, gives some notes on the pseudo-Platonic *Theages, Hipparchus, Amatores,* and *Alcibiades secundus,* as edited by Schanz. There is not much of interest here; but two or three specimens may be cited. "Theag, p. 128*b*: ὁρᾷς, ὦ πάτερ, ὅτι Σωκράτης οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ τι ἐθέλειν ἐμοὶ συνδιατρίβειν. Insanientis oratio est: ὁρᾷς ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ. Submota erit omnis difficultas si rescripseris: ὁρᾷς, ὦ πάτερ; ὁ Σωκράτης οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ ἐθέλειν κτέ. Delendum est τι, namque οὐ πάνυ τι rectissime dicitur, sed οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ τι ἐθέλειν ineptum est. Ὁρᾷς sic positum est in Attica perfrequens." "P. 128*d*: Χαρμίδην γὰρ τουτονὶ γιγνώσκετε τὸν καλὸν ΓεΝόμενον τοῦ Γλαύκωνος. Quid hoc est. ὁ καλὸς γενόμενος? An ex formoso turpis [ex turpi formosus?] factus est? Corrige: τὸν καλὸν ΛεΓόμενον." On Alc. ii, p. 145*c*, where οἴδαμεν occurs, he writes: "Sunt hi Dialogi leves opellae, confabulationes non illepidae, sed inanes nullo certo consilio institutae et exitum non habentes. Qui ista scriptitarunt Platonem volebant imitari videri et utuntur quantum possunt lingua Platonica, ut plurimum satis tersa et nitida. Itaque οἴδαμεν pro ἴσμεν non

poterant dicere neque ἀποκριθῆναι pro ἀποκρίνασθαι neque aliis sordibus ἐκ τῆς συνηθείας uti."

In the next article, pp. 21–46, Naber continues his notes on Aristophanes. He discusses at length the parts assigned to the several birds in the construction of their city, Av. 1136 ff., and makes the sequence of the work and the comprehension of it much simpler by substituting in 1143, 1146 ἐμαλάττοντο, ἐμάλαττον for ἐνεβάλλοντο, ἐνέβαλλον. On 1620, μενετοὶ θεοί, he writes : " non concoquo—equidem scripserim : μενέτω θεός," but referring to the passage in Thuc. i, 142, τοῦ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί, he merely says that the word " miro modo usurpatum est." On 1652, where Herakles is asked, after protesting against being called νόθος, πῶς ἂν ποτε | ἐπίκληρον εἶναι τὴν Ἀθηναίαν δοκεῖς, | οὖσαν θυγατέρ', ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γνησίων, Naber remarks that in this play Βασίλεια is represented as the heiress of the property of the defunct Zeus, and wishes to read here τὴν Βασίλειάν σοι 'vel simile quid.' In Lysist. 14 he wishes to change βουλευσομέναισιν οὐ περὶ φαύλου πράγματος into πράγματος οὐ φαύλου πέρι. On the difficult line 114, κἂν εἰ με χρείη τοὐγκύκλον | τουτὶ καταθεῖσαν ἐκπιεῖν αὐθημερόν, he rejects the interpretation of Blaydes, saying that "abjicerem Blaydesii commentarios nisi hoc incredibile παρόραμα aliis locis redemisset et abunde compensavisset," and then gives his own conjecture περιπατεῖν for ἐκπιεῖν, in which "vera scriptura per se satis agnoscitur." On Thesm. 855–7, containing a parody of Eur. Hel. 1–3, he suggests λευρούς for λευκῆς in Euripides, and ποτίζει for νοτίζει here. But as to the point of the whole, "latet aliquid quod perpetuo ignorabimus; praestat nunc quoque id quod sexcenties praestat et fatebimur ignorantiam—de ceteris ampliandum censeo, donec Bentleius revixerit." On Ran. 609, where, when Xanthias, with οὐκ ἐς κόρακας; μὴ πρόσιτον, warns off the two slaves Aeacus bids to lay hands upon him, Aeacus exclaims εἶεν, καὶ μαχεῖ; and calls three more with the words χωρεῖτε δεῦρο καὶ μάχεσθε τουτῳί, Naber objects that "non hanc μάχην appellamus, quum quinque homines unum eundemque inermem adoriuntur. Prodeunt tres robusti homines, qui cum Xanthia non depugnent, sed eum sine mora comprehendant et manus post tergum revinciant. Itaque legendum, λάβεσθε τουτουί." But the next words of Dionysus imply that Xanthias does use his fists against his assailants : εἶτ' οὐχὶ δεινὰ ταῦτα, τύπτειν τουτονὶ | κλέπτοντα πρὸς τἀλλότρια; if the necessity of the proposed alteration is not here apparent, the suggestion for the emendation of 788 is very happy. Aeacus says that Sophocles, when he entered Hades, did not insist on assuming the tragic throne ἀλλ' ἔκυσε μὲν Αἰσχύλον . . . κἀνέβαλε τὴν δεξιάν, κἀκεῖνος ὑπεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θρόνου. Who is ἐκεῖνος? Kock says Sophocles, and that the emphatic pronoun is used of him, because his good manners are contrasted with the impudent self-assertion of Euripides. Green thinks it must be Aeschylus, notwithstanding the objection presented by the use of the aorist. Naber proposes to read Αἰσχύλος, which removes all the difficulty; and argues that it was proper that the kiss should be offered to and not by the new-comer. "Advenam osculamur, ut intelligat se amari et iucundum hospitem adesse ; sed si advena anteverterit et osculum occupaverit, praesentiam suam obtrudere videbitur et odium pariet." He shows, by reference to Martial, Fronto, and Friedländer, that such were Roman good manners; and by quoting Aesch. Agam. 1560, where it is said that Iphigenia will kiss

her father on his arrival, he indicates that " ἐν Ἅιδου iidem mores obtinent quos sub sole homines observitant."

The next article, pp. 47-58, is on the 6th book of Plato's *Leges*, by the late Prof. Badham, of Sidney. These criticisms will be found of the greatest use by Schanz, when he reaches this treatise in his new edition, though they are not very available for this notice. A few lines may, however, be quoted. On p. 774c the conjecture γήμασθαι τὰς πένητας for γηράσκειν τοὺς πένητας brings light where darkness reigned before; and then Badham writes: " ex hoc immani errore plurima coniicere licet; primum librum illum, unde nostri derivati sunt, cursivis, ut vocant, litteris exaratum fuisse; nam ni ita esset, μ et ρ confundi non potuissent; deinde compendiis abundasse, quae qui ita descripsit, ut in plenas litteras converteret, quid singula significarent prorsus ignorare non potuit. Itaque ut nonnihil huius hominis socordiae tribuamus, ipsarum siglarum obscuris et prope evanidis ductibus magna pars errorum imputanda erit. Sed vide modo quae ad hos errores defendendos explicandosque Astius et Stallbaumius in omnibus fere paginis excogitant! ita ut mador, quem omnium rerum parentem esse accepimus, novam etiam Graecitatem peperisse videatur. Ipsas autem tineas blattasque et quidquid est lucifugarum bestiolarum suam habere grammaticam diceres, nostra illa vulgari longe subtiliorem. Quam quidem Jowetto ceterisque lucifugis relinquendam censeo; quod utinam soli has sordes depascerentur, neque academiae nostrae talibus convivatoribus miseram inventutem nutriendam committi."

Van Herwerden follows with Paralipomena Thucydidea, pp. 59-68, in which, in addition to making a few new suggestions, he calls attention to a good many oversights in his recently completed edition. One of the new points is on iv, 128. 2, οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν, τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα γενομένης σφῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου, "alterum pronomen admodum mihi suspectum est. Nisi fallor, Thucydides more suo proleptice scripserat τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου (i. e. τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου, ut paulo ante dixit). Ad τῶν cum librarii errore adhaesisset sigma praegressi participii γενομένηΣ itaque legeretur ΣΤΩΝ, nescio quis rem praeclare gerere sibi visus est corrigens scilicet ΣΦΩΝ, quod hodie ab interpretibus ingeniosius quam prudentius explicari assolet." At the end of the article, Herwerden refers to the corrections of the text proposed by Vollgraff, and noticed in this Journal, Vol. IV, p. 124. The two that were there commended he accepts; and, in regard to the proposed omission of καλῶς in οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν (I 5, 2), he says that he abstained from dropping the word in his edition only because he could not then account for its insertion. He thinks now that it perhaps arose from a marginal καλόν in explanation of κόσμος : "quod cum in textum migrasset, a correctore, ut grammatica salva esset, in καλῶς mutatum est."

We have next, pp. 69-106, Cobet's critical notes on Stein's edition of Herodotus, in continuation of his general remarks on the character of the MSS, reported in this Journal, IV 122. His first comment is on the orthography of the patrial name of Herodotus, in which he maintains that only a single σ should be used as in Ἀργινοῦσαι, etc., and that the MSS are of absolutely no weight in such matters, "quis credat quidquam homuncionibus, qui τί μοι μέλλει; pro μέλει scribere solent?" In commenting on Stein's ἐξίει, i, 6, =

ἐξίῃσι, Cobet says we should write ἐξιεῖ. "Verborum in -μι exeuntium apud Herodotum hae *certae* formae sunt: τίθημι, τιθεῖς τιθεῖ et in imperfecto ἐτίθεα, ἐτίθεις, ἐτίθει, δίδωμι, διδοῖς, διδοῖ et nonnumquam δίδωσι, et in imperfecto ἐδίδουν, ἐδίδους, ἐδίδου, etc." On i, 11, ὅθενπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν, he writes: "sententia clamat emendandum esse *ostendit tibi*, ἐπέδεξα ΤΟΙ; ii, 42: τὸι Δία ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἑωυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. Ἐπιδεικνύναι significat monstrare alicui aliquid quod lubenter et incunde spectet, ut Candaules formosam uxorem Gygi; cf. IV 168: τῷ βασιλέι—τὰς παρθένους—ἐπιδεικνύουσι." In i, 51, after the word of the inscription ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, he assumes a *lacuna*, and writes the whole thus: διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ταύτην οἱ Δελφοὶ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ εἶναι ἀνάθημα οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. On i, 64, where he substitutes πιθομένων for πειθομένων, he writes: "perpetuo in Herodoti libris miscentur inter se πειθόμενος, πιθόμενος, πυθόμενος et barbarum ποιθόμενος. Quid sit ubique verum τὰ συμφραζόμενα declarant. Πιθέσθαι apud Graeculos non erat in usu; itaque πείθεσθαι scribebant etiam apud poetas iugulato metro, ut in *Nubibus* v. 851: κἀγώ τοί ποτε | οἶδ᾽ ἐξέτει σοι τραυλίσαντι πιθόμενος. Ravennas habet πΕΙθόμενος." On i, 86 we are told that Stein is constantly wrong in printing εἴρεσθαι and ἐπείρεσθαι: "nam aoristi secundi hae formae sunt. Apud Herodotum praesens et imperfectum est constanter εἰρωτᾶν et ἐπειρωτᾶν—sed haec verbi forma non ultra hos fines progreditur. Aoristus est semper et ubique εἰρόμην—et in infinitivo εἰρέσθαι—ut λαβέσθαι—alia sexcenta. Futurum est summa constantia εἰρήσομαι et ἐπειρήσομαι. Itaque εἰρόμην idem est quod ἠρώτησα, et εἰρήσομαι idem quod ἐρωτήσω. Graviter igitur falluntur qui εἰρόμην imperfectum esse opinantur." Many examples are quoted to show that the fact is as he states it, *e. g.* iii, 32: λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτῖλαι καὶ ἐπανείρεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα " imo vero ἐπανειρέσθαι id est ἐπανερωτῆσαι." He allows, however, that Homer uses εἴρομαι, &c. for ἐρωτῶ, as in οὔτ᾽ εἴρομαι οὔτε μεταλλῶ, " sed nulla huius formae apud Herodotum vestigia sunt." In a similar way, on i, 125: Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε, Cobet maintains, as he has done before in V. L. p. 36, that in good writers this verb, simple and compound, is not used beyond the present and imperfect tenses; and that, therefore, when we find the aorist we must restore the imperfect; since Herodotus used the imperfect "ἰαστί pro aoristo et in aliis sexcentis ut ἔλεγε pro εἶπε.—Est in omnibus certa dicendi consuetudo semper et ubique sine ulla exceptione τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν. Diversissima miscet et verbis ludit Lachmannus a Steinio laudatus pag. xlviii ubi dicit: ' *summam constantiam in dicendo scribendoque quaerere animi illiberalis esse.*' In plerisque enim certus et constans dicendi usus est, in aliis consuetudo est varia; itaque qui in universum de omnibus pronuntiat οὐδὲν λέγει. Herodotus in primis τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγει sibique in dicendo mirifice constat, quo certior et evidentior emendatio est ubi scribarum vitio sibi ipse dissimilis reperitur." It is worth while to note that, in regard to this limitation of the classical forms of ἀγορεύειν, Veitch thinks that Cobet "has been misled by a too exclusive attention to a particular class of writers." In i, 148 we have the remarkable phenomenon of Cobet defending the genuineness of a passage which Stein had bracketed as one of the observations which "pariebat antiquitus grammatica ars adhuc in cunis vagiens et ψελλίζουσα." The remark in question is that the names of Hellenic festivals all end ἐς τὠυτὸ γράμμα. Cobet points out that it is of just the same character as one made before, in c. 139, on the

uniform termination of Persian names, "quae quum sint sine controversia genuina, apparet non esse tangendam alteram de genere hoc observationem paene gemellam. Quod autem nostro loco repetit: κατάπερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα indicio est Herodoto ipsi hanc animadversionem satis placuisse. Praeterea ipsa oratio non grammaticum nescio quem arguit, sed veterem aliquem scriptorem Ionicum loqui. Quis enim grammaticus, ut hoc utar, dixisset: πεπόνθασι τοῦτο eo sensu?"

The last article in this part, pp. 107-12, is by van Herwerden on the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius. The text is, he admits, in a fairly satisfactory condition ; but there are still a good many passages, "qui hucusque frustra medicam manum expectarint." The first of these which he touches upon is i, 59, where we are told of Kaineus that ζωόν περ ἔτι κλείουσιν ἀοιδοὶ | Κενταύροισιν ὀλέσθαι, "quasi vero mortuus perire potuisset." What is probably the true reading is preserved by the Schol. on Il. A 264: Καινέα γὰρ δὴ πρόσθεν κτέ., since the metre does not allow οἱ πρόσθεν ἐπικλείουσιν of l. 18 to be used here. In i, 262, in the description of the anxious grief with which the departure of Jason and his companions was attended, we have the words μήτηρ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν βεβολημένη, which the Latin version renders *mater vero ipsum amplexa est.* But there are several objections to the use of this perf. partic. in the sense of περιπλεκομένη, and again the schol. suggests an entirely different thought in his comment, λύπῃ βλαβεῖσα ἢ δυσθυμοῦσα. But, since no instance can be adduced of the use of the verb alone in this sense, without the addition of a dative, " eius affectionis qua quis perculsus sit," H. suggests that we should write ἀμφασίῃ βεβολημένη, *stupore perculsa.* In i, 717 we read Ὑψιπύλην δ' εἴσαντο καταφθιμένοιο Θόαντος ... ἀνασσέμεν. It is shown that εἴσαντο cannot be used for ἴσαν (ᾔδεσαν) and that Thoas was not really dead. This renders the correction ὀίσαντο exceedingly probable. In ii, 320 we have the form ἐρέρεινται for ἐρηρέδαται. This is no *librarii* σ φ ά λ μ a, for in iii, 1328 we find ἠρήρειντο, and many other 'monstra' of the same sort occur, as ἔλειπτο for ἐλέλειπτο, ᾔειδειν for ᾔδεσαν, σφωίτερος for σφέτερος, δακρυόειν for δακρυόεν, νῆυν for νῆα ; and the proper meaning of words as much disregarded, as in the use of ἀτέμβεσθαι for μέμφεσθαι, πέφαται for λέλεκται, ἀμαλδύνειν for κρύπτειν, ὑποβλήδην for ἐν τῷ μέρει, νέποδες for ἀπόγονοι, μάλιστα ἢ for μᾶλλον ἤ, and many others.

The parts of pages otherwise unoccupied are filled by Cobet with notes on Suidas and Diodorus Siculus.

<div align="right">C. D. Morris.</div>

Hermes. 1883.

Part I.

R. Hirzel, Ein unbeachtetes Comoedienfragment. Hirzel, after Numenius and after Diogenes, relates an anecdote of the philosopher Lacydes, and, comparing the two versions, argues that this amusing story is derived from some play of (Middle) Attic comedy. Lacydes is confronted by the fact that his slaves purloin from his pantry in a manner inexplicable to himself, and he consequently adopts the Academic *skepsis* as his platform. Later, however, as he finds it impossible properly to rebuke and restrain his thieving domestics on this basis of morals, he is compelled to return to Stoicism, because he finds the Academic tenets inapplicable to the problems of practical and actual

life. Hirzel attempts, with some ingenuity, to reconstruct the dramatic development of the story.

H. Kühlewein discusses the text and the MSS of Hippocrates' treatise on water, air and localities.

G. Knaack (Analecta) presents a number of critical notes on passages in Ovid, Petronius, Apollonius, etc.

A. Gemoll, Die Beziehungen zwischen Ilias und Odyssee. This paper is the result of much toil. The author discusses 136 passages of the Odyssey which either closely resemble, or are identical with, passages of the Iliad. The general result of the investigation is presented on p. 35. "Amongst the 136 passages there are but three, and those later insertions, Il. φ, in which the Odyssey proves to be the original." The theory of a common storehouse of current epic diction he endeavors to remove, as far as possible, from his discussion, insisting that in the Iliad the phrases seem to have been composed especially for the particular situation, whereas in the Odyssey this fitness was not so palpable. It is interesting to note that, in conformity with his general theory, Gemoll decidedly rejects the thesis of Hinrichs ("On the Chryseis episode," noticed in a former number of this Journal), according to which that portion of A is a *contaminatio* or *cento*, gathered from other passages of the Iliad, from the Odyssey, and from the hymn on the Delphian Apollo. As regards the Odyssey, Gemoll says (p. 39), "I am unable to find that even a single passage of it has been proved to be the original; *nay, I shall prove the opposite in all those passages that are not epic formulas.*" While we must remember that in such discussions the author will be inclined to adjust critical details to his main thesis, still Gemoll seems to have made many substantial points which will prove suggestive to the critical student of Homer.

H. Roehl, In Franciscum Lenormant Inscriptionum Falsarium Responsio Altera. Roehl points out with ample detail that Lenormant's rejoinder to his own sharp strictures (Hermes, 1882, p. 448 sqq.) is defective or evasive, and says, in closing (p. 102), "Hoc loco nunc est quaestio de eis Lenormanti monumentis, quae publice infamata sunt. Nec non et ceterorum multa coticulam sibi postulant (cf. Hermes, XVII 462) dico inscriptiones Aegaei, alias, imprimis quas annis 1866, 1867, 1868 edidit, nam his maxime annis adulterandi cupido velut teter morbus eum videtur obsedisse; sed haec in aliud tempus differenda."

O. Richter, Clivus Capitolinus. Richter charges Jordan with various errors in his attempt to reconcile modern excavations with ancient authorities, and himself discusses all the antiquarian detail of the subject (the *Capitolium* proper, the *arx* on the northern end of the hill, the road leading to it) with exhaustive accuracy.

M. Schanz, Zu Hermeias. The well-known editor of Plato's text prints a note which proves that Ast's edition of Hermeias' scholia on Phaedrus is faulty; the definition of love (p. 76, Ast) ascribed to Euclides (Socraticus) must, according to the better reading, be ascribed to Heraclides Ponticus (Peripateticus); the term κατὰ συμβεβηκός, in a definition of a pre-Aristotelian philosopher, would alone constitute a grave anachronism.

Part II.

Th. Mommsen, Die italischen Bürgercolonien von Sulla bis Vespasian. This paper is partly statistical and partly critical. The towns of Italy, ever since the peninsula had fallen entirely under Roman sway, were either *municipia* or *coloniae*, the latter having the full franchise of Roman citizenship and being generally governed by an executive of *duumviri*, whereas in the municipia, *quattuor viri* are commonly found. As a rule, the act of *deductio* involved the legal expulsion of the owners from their land. The most familiar instance of such expropriation occurs in Vergil's Eclogues (Cremona). Mommsen discusses and registers colonies of Sulla, of Caesar, of the second triumvirate, of Augustus, Coloniae Juliae in Italy. The sources of information aside from historians are mostly inscriptions. The list in Pliny is specially discussed, and M. finds it to be very defective; the sources of this latter enumeration are discussed on p. 198 sqq.[1] The high statesmanship of C. Julius Caesar is attested by the fact that he absolutely abstained from establishing military colonies in Italy. In this matter, too, he refrained from satisfying one class by stripping another. Amongst the more notable names in the general list subjoined by Mommsen we meet Ancona, Ariminum, Beneventum, Bononia, Cremona, Crotona, Cumae, Luceria, Nola, Praeneste, Tarentum, Tergeste, Venusia.

Wilamowitz, Die beiden Electren. This paper exhibits the same traits that W.'s earlier productions possess, a certain pungency in dissent, coupled with enthusiastic and sanguine development of the thesis maintained. To illustrate the former: at one point of his discourse, Aristarchus is an obstacle (p. 261) which is brushed aside with the phrase: " Dagegen helfen Aristarch's schale Exegetenkünste nichts." At another point W. disagrees with Pausanias, the consequences being somewhat serious for the latter: " Dieser Schriftsteller hat einmal das Vorrecht als Theopneust behandelt zu werden, obgleich er ausser allen sonstigen Fehlern auch den einer erstaunlichen Zerstreutheit hat " (p. 252).

W. aims at proving not only that the Electra of Sophocles is a later production than the Euripidean play of the same name, but that its preparation was directly prompted by the latter; that in it Sophocles strove to reassert the ancient, strictly epic view of the plot, whereas Euripides, before him, had recast the legend with bold originality, making Electra the chief heroine, and her will and design the mainspring of the action. The detailed analysis of each drama is executed with great warmth and with unmistakable appreciation of the purely literary points in both productions. Psychology, the ancient legend, the canons of ancient morality, all these are handled with much skill. Euripides, thus W. argues,—his remarks, although not novel, are replete with force and point,—Euripides not only advanced beyond the legend, but challenged that almost sacred tradition, not only as to its truth, but also as to its morality.

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[1] It is notorious that the Roman "colonies" were originally contrivances to secure and promote sway and conquest by the establishment, amongst peoples subjected or to be subjected, of Roman citizens. These colonies, moreover, differed vastly from the Greek colonies, inasmuch as their substantial connections and coherence with the *city* was never impaired, they being *excubiae*, as it were, of the central governing commonwealth.—E. G. S.

For its parallel criticism of Euripides and Sophocles, its appreciation of the peculiar genesis of their composition, the paper is valuable, its glow being tempered with acute historical criticism. But whether other eyes will readily recognize the relations between the two plays which the interpretation of W. has constructed, time will show. In the mind of the author of such an ingenious combination there is a natural tendency to advance that which is merely plausible into the category of demonstrated truth. In the second part of his paper, W., dating as he does the Electra of Sophocles after 413 B. C., brings forward a number of points which, according to him, mark a very late stage of Sophoclean composition, the slight share that the chorus takes in the action, the slender and mechanical lines of connexion between chorus and plot, the peculiar use of plaintive anapaests, and the resemblance of the ionic strophe (v. 824) to the ionici of O. C. 510.

An excursus is appended, in which W. deals with the legend of Iphigenia. His principal aim is to organize or reorganize the Attic legend of Theseus and Helena, and the connection of the Brauronian Artemis with the birth and fates of Helen's daughter by Theseus, Iphigenia. Wilamowitz concludes this chapter with the words, "I have dared to utter what the ancient Diacrians seem to me to have composed. And if I have been wide of the mark in the matter, I know that they will forgive me. For it is poetry of no mean value which I credit them with."

A. Piccolomini, of Pisa, writes: Quaestionum de Archilocho capita tria. As regards the hanging of Lycambes and Neobule, P. suggests taking ἀπάγξα-σθαι in a metaphorical sense; further, that the story, told by Plutarch, of Archi-lochus' expulsion from Sparta must be understood to his poetry solely; and, finally, that τέττιξ, ap. Suidam (Archilochus), really refers to the dead poet himself.

Polak, of Rotterdam, Ad Choricii declamationes notulae. One of the decla-mations of this Byzantine rhetorician (age of Justinian) has recently been edited by Foerster in the Hermes. P. communicates a number of emendations of the text, although in principle he does not think it worth while to devote so much critical study to so late a writer.

O. Seeck, of Greifswald, discourses on, and establishes more fully, the series of Prefects of Rome occurring in Ammianus Marcellinus. These fill the years 353-74 A. D.

P. Stengel on ΛΥΚΑΒΑΣ, "course of light" (Hom. ξ 161, τ 306 sq.) S. argues that Λυκάβας means not the annual course of the sun, because in Homer there is no fixed point whatever for beginning or ending that measure of time. Consequently, S. insists, we are compelled to resort to the lunar month as being designated by the term, *i. e.* the equivalent of four weeks beginning at any given time.

E. G. SIHLER.

The Reconstruction of Athena Parthenos.

G. Kieseritzky, Athena Parthenos der Ermitage. Mittheilungen des deutschen Archaeologischen Institutes in Athen. Achter Jahrgang, Viertes Heft, p. 291 u. Taf. XV.

By good fortune, the marble statuette found near the Βαρβάκειον in 1880, which many thought would settle forever all controversy about the appearance of the chryselephantine original of Pheidias, has already proved to be a buoy marking, not the roadstead where the ship of investigation may anchor, but the channel by which her progress must be made. It was to be feared that the assured authenticity of the evidence would cause it to be regarded as absolute ; in the resulting neglect of other sources of knowledge, the theory of the laws of Greek art would, doubtless, be enriched with many a new and narrow dogma. The number of *replicas* of the Parthenos recognized or substantiated by the Βαρβάκειον copy is almost bewildering. Differing from one another in size and material, they have in common the point of very considerable reduction from the scale of their colossal original. It is readily understood how this circumstance would affect the copies in the suppression of detail. Less understood, or more hardly admitted, has been the impossibility of rendering in chiselled marble, stamped silver or graven gem, the peculiarities of a monument composed of carved ivory and beaten gold. It is from southern Russia, the ancient sepulchres of which are well-known treasuries of rare Greek goldwork, that the last important addition to the materials for the ideal reconstruction of the Parthenos, possessing the merit of identity of material, and emphasising this necessary difference in the artistic treatment of different substances, originally came; it is an archaeologist who, conversant with the unique collection of the Imperial Ermitage of St. Petersburg, has learned something of the technique of the Greek goldsmith, who presents them as copies of the head of the chryselephantine Athena of Pheidias.

Found in a tumulus near Kertch (Pantikapaion) in 1830, lying on the breast of a woman buried beside her husband, the two medallions of beaten gold given in phototypy on Plate XV were evidently pendants; similar pieces in other tombs had their place over the temples, as hanging ornaments of a diadem. Circular in form (diam. 0.072 m.), they were hung by an eye at the top; a flat rim on the circumference, of which the decoration is a delicate ivy vine enlivened by green and blue enamel leaves between the stems and tendrils of soldered wire, is bordered by smooth wires 0.006 m. apart. To the lower half of the circle rosettes of similar enamelled ivy leaves are soldered, to which was suspended an elaborate but damaged chain ornament ; this included, each jewel has a length of 0.187 m. A circle of filigree twist contiguous to the inner smooth wire of the rim corresponds to an identical ornament on the outer edge and encircles the raised central part of the medallion. The form is thus precisely that of an Argive shield.

The process of manufacture consisted in the cutting of a hard metal die, into the hollows of which the thick gold plate, overlaid with one of lead— for the sharp angles and projections of the front appear blunt behind—was beaten by hammer and puncheon, to be touched up, before the soldered wire and enamel ornament was applied to the flat rim, with graver's tools. This

chased work is conspicuous in the hair of the curls and crests, in the feathers of the animals, and in the dinted lines that decorate the helmet.

It is the helmeted head of Athena, in semi-profile, that is represented on both plates; the symmetry is complete, so much so that not only do the heads face different ways, but the one-sided attributes occupy opposite sides—were it not for a slight inferiority of execution, and the flattening sustained from the falling of a rafter in the tumulus of Koul-Oba, No. 2 would seem the mirrored image of No. 1. The two, No. 1 being taken for the example of the pair, can be spoken of as one.

All the detail of the Βαρβάκειον statuette is repeated in the gold head: the visored Attic helmet, with its raised cheek-pieces and three crests supported by the Sphinx and Pegasoi, and the two curls on each side of the characteristic round visage vindicated by Schreiber as a development of the Attic Athena type. The Sphinx lies in the same posture, with the same raised wings concealing the support of the crest; the horses' heads, much resembling those of the Parthenon pediment, are turned outward, and their wings have the same archaic upward curve of the tips that fits so well into the arched crest-pieces above; the relief does not, however, represent them raised on their fore-feet, a posture even the sculptured copy would hardly have adopted unless in deference to the original, where otherwise, from the elevated position, they would have been invisible behind the false visor and its decoration. This part of the helmet appears on the medallion without the customary nose-peak, and Kieseritzky regards this peculiarity as derived from the original. In the elaborate ornamentation, in dotted lines, of all the non-decorative parts of the helmet, breaking the surface of the yellow gold; in the thread-like appearance of the hair and spiral form of the long curls, so different from the conventional zigzag of the marble; in the broken brushiness of the right crest, the medallion has more faithfully than any other copies reproduced the technique of an original made of the same ductile metal.

But attributes and ornaments entirely suppressed by the statuary, just as he suppressed the reliefs of the goddess' shield and sandals, are found here. Pausanias (αὐτὸ δὲ ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποίηται, μέσῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπίκειται οἱ τῷ κράνει Σφιγγὸς εἰκών . . . καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῦ κράνους γρῦπές εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι, I 24, 5) has been taken to task as having mistaken the Pegasoi which flank the Sphinx for griffins. Literally translated, his notice is seen to indicate another decoration of the helmet, the two griffins *rampant* worked in low-relief (ἐπειργασμένοι) on the cheek-pieces, by which low-reliefs on the body of the helmet (καθ' ἑκάτερον τῆς Σφιγγὸς) would have been hidden from view.

In a row above the narrow false visor appear the heads of ten animals, alternately griffins and hinds. Lange's refusal to accept the negative testimony of the statuette against the positive evidence of the series of Athenian tetradrachms, the gem of Aspasios, and the statues known as the *Minerva Albani* and the *Minerve au collier*, is thus brilliantly justified. But while these replicas indicated horses, Pegasoi or even owls as the decoration of the visor, we now have, in the studied juxtaposition of a virgin and a warrior beast, a reference to the mythological character of the goddess. Stephani has shown these animals associated with Athena elsewhere. Similar animal heads, made of two hollow symmetrical halves joined by soldering, have been discovered in

Russia; but Kieseritzky overestimates the evidential weight of his medallions and becomes over-subtle when he rejects the distinct testimony of the coins and the drawing of the Codex Pighianus, which show the foreparts of prancing animals, and condemns this form as inartistic.

It has always been a matter of surprise that no copy or literary notice associated the familiar owl of Pallas with her most familiar idol; the medallion shows the bird perching on the left upturned cheek-piece (the right one in No. 2), solemnly disregardful of the serpent that snaps at her tail. A necklace of beads, rosettes and drops, as on the gem of Aspasios and a bronze coin published by Mionnet, encircles Athena's neck—the Minerve au collier wears a simple string of beads;—her ear-rings, composed of a disk and conical drop ending in a little ball, are altogether peculiar; for they present a form not yet observed among representations or actual specimens of ancient jewelry. Perhaps the most striking and unexpected light is shed on the position of Athena's spear, which neither of the already employed hands could hold. The statuette omits it. A piece of it is seen here over Athena's left shoulder, where it is held fast in the coil of an aegis snake. It is represented in like manner in the corresponding place on medallion No. 2.

From the laborious effort to reproduce every feature of the original, in which endeavor correctness of projection is frequently set at nought; from the introduction of this segment of spear-shaft, unintelligible to persons unacquainted with the work of Pheidias; from the shade of austerity that tempers the excellence of the workmanship, and finally from the artistic quality of the other objects found in the tumulus of Koul-Oba, which belong mainly to the Greek importation of the fifth and early fourth centuries, Kieseritzky concludes that the medallions were the design and work of an Athenian goldsmith of the school trained, during the construction of the great chryselephantine statue, under the master himself. The oldest, most faithful, and truest copy of the Athena Parthenos would then be invested with an additional charm of association. But though this should not be so, it is still a comfort to recognize, in gazing on the somewhat sad loveliness of this face, that the copyist is answerable for the disappointment so generally inspired by the *épâté* countenance of the Ἀθηνᾶ τοῦ Βαρβακείου.

ALFRED EMERSON.

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